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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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CONTENTS.

Ecclesiastical Affairs:
Mr. Miall's Motion.—Smothering of the Debate 505
Mr. Gladstone's Reply to Mr. Miall 505
Religious and Denominational News:
The City Temple 507
Milton Mount College 507
Correspondence 508
Anniversary Meetings:
The Congregational Union 509
London Missionary Society 511
Home Missionary Society 514
The Division on Mr. Miall's Motion 515
What Next? 515
Epitome of News 515
Leading Articles:
Summary 516
The French Republic 516
The Lords and the Birmingham Grammar School 517
The Labourers' Union and the Farmers' Associations 517
The Peace Society 518
Literature:
Mr. Picton on the Mystery of Matter 521
Brief Notices 522
Miscellaneous 523
Births, Marriages, and Deaths 523
Advertisements 523
Supplement:
Disestablishment of the Churches of England and Scotland 530
The Division List on Mr. Miall's Motion 534
How it Strikes a Stranger 534
The Debate of Friday 535
Advertisements 535

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

MR. MIALL'S MOTION.—SMOTHERING OF THE DEBATE.

We have no disposition to conceal from ourselves the weight of the adverse blow which was dealt at the Disestablishment movement on Friday last. Clever strategy and unfortunate accidents served to give State-Churchism a victory the immediate effect of which may, perhaps, be highly advantageous to it. Just now, it will answer no practical purpose to urge the consideration that the decision of the House of Commons is not quite so overwhelming as it looks against the party anxious for the "liberation of religion from State patronage and control." The smothering of the debate and the consequent diminution of votes registered in support of Mr. Miall's motion, like a sharp frost when spring is far advanced, will, no doubt, be followed by results which all must recognise as damaging and deplorable. But, after all, they are rather temporary than permanent. The season will move forward in spite of them. Public opinion may for a few months be checked. The process of development, which is quickened by a genial surrounding atmosphere, will unquestionably be retarded. Perhaps there will be no visible budding forth for some time to come of the vital forces upon the energy of which we are wont to depend for the vigorous growth of political sentiment in this country. Such things have happened before, and they will probably happen more than once again. The struggle was sure to have its vicissitudes, and it would be unmanly to yield an iota to that despondency which a disastrous defeat is in itself so well calculated to evoke.

In politics, it has been said, the only event sure to happen is the unexpected. To the friends of the motion on Friday night the early suppression of the debate was a surprise. The tactics of the opponents were well planned, were carried into effect with the most perfect discipline, and were favoured, as we have already intimated, by two or three casual incidents without the aid of which they might possibly have been frustrated. That there was some understanding—tacit, perhaps, rather than expressed—between the two great political parties to cut short the debate, might be detected by even the most inexpert observer. We will not say that Mr. Gladstone lent himself and his influence to the furtherance of that understanding, as a set purpose; but he can hardly have been unaware that his rising at so early a stage of the discussion would do more than anything else could have done, to facilitate the success of the strategy previously resolved upon. The abrupt conclusion of Mr. Vernon Harcourt's constitutional argument, before he had fairly entered upon it, and his acceptance of the will of the House to divide there and then; the absence, for only a few minutes, on various errands, of the members who intended to speak in favour of the resolution, during an earlier stage of the debate; and the impatient determination of a huge majority, opposition to which at the moment would have provoked a formidable demonstration of ill-feeling, brought about a sudden division, during the absence of from five-and-twenty to thirty pledged friends of disestablishment. It is easier, however, to account for a failure, than cheerfully to acquiesce in it. The public will not know, and it appears to us that the daily Press is not taking pains to let it know, the exact state of the case. Had the debate been carried on till midnight, as, under ordinary circumstances, it probably would have been, and had the division been taken at that later hour, when the absentees on pair would have been back in their places, although it is possible enough that the minority might have fallen short of what it was last year by half a dozen votes—a result scarcely to be wondered at when the uncompromising character of the resolution is taken into account—even the apparent retrogression of the movement would have been comparatively trivial, and the crow of triumph on the part of its supporters would have been much less hearty and vociferous.

The question which the friends of disestablishment have now to ask themselves is, what is the best course to be pursued? "There is no use," says an old adage, "in crying over spilt milk." No actual loss of any serious moment has been sustained. Some discouragement has no doubt been inflicted, but it will be our own fault if it is allowed to interfere with active and disciplined effort hereafter. So far as we have failed in the present Parliament, steps should be immediately taken to repair that failure in the constituent bodies. We must concentrate the whole of our force in the country upon the next general election. Mr. Gladstone predicts for us in that contest also, a loss in our numbers. We shall see. It would ill become us in the position which we now occupy to indulge in boastful anticipations. Our duty will rather lie in framing our tactics with unflinching purpose, and in exerting ourselves to the fullest extent of our capacity in carrying them into effect. The friends of the policy of disestablishment and disendowment are for the most part fully experienced in "the uses of adversity." They can afford to be beaten, and to bide their time. They have religious faith in their principles. They never underrated the force of that volume of political opinion which they are striving to break down. They will not spend their strength in abuse of their opponents. They will take their present defeat less as a cause of complaint than as a stimulus to still more earnest and persevering action. The fashion of society is against them, but, as they well know, fashion is not immortal. No such flimsy influence can long put back the natural and inevitable tendencies of enlightenment. A few months, if thoroughly well employed, will suffice to put a very different aspect upon the face of the contest.

MR. GLADSTONE'S REPLY TO MR. MIALL.

In commenting with much fairness upon the terms of Mr. Miall's motion, the Prime Minister pointedly refrained from stigmatising it as a merely abstract resolution. He even went so far as to allow, that if the first four propositions could be sustained, the remaining one, that the establishment by law of the churches of England and Scotland ought no longer to be maintained, would be an inevitable conclusion. It is noticeable, however, that in the remainder of his speech the right hon. gentleman did not apply himself to the arguments by which the member for Bradford had supported those propositions; but was content simply to plead that the question was not one which could be considered at present with any hope of a practical solution. His reasons for maintaining this position consisted partly in the alleged state of public opinion, partly in the organic connection of the Anglican Church with the historical growth and present constitution of the nation, partly also in the enormous difficulties which would embarrass the legislation necessary for disestablishment. In the course of this argument some plausible points were raised, and some obvious fallacies enunciated which may call for separate notice.

The state of public opinion upon the question is one that may be variously estimated, according to the point of view adopted. If Mr. Gladstone meant only that no strong united and general demand has been made by any political party which could command a majority in Parliament, and decide the tenure of the Treasury Bench, he is of course perfectly right. This, however, is often the case with what may be called paulo-post-future questions of politics, the decision of which is already a foregone conclusion, but which do not so engross the attention of electors and candidates as to occupy a foremost position in Parliamentary elections. This, for instance, was the state of the case with regard to the Irish Establishment for almost a generation before it was abolished. When many years ago the then member for Rochdale moved in the House of Commons his resolution on the subject of the Irish Church, it was plausibly urged that public opinion was not prepared for such a step. Yet there can now be no doubt that even then a very large majority of electors in the United Kingdom believed that disestablishment was inevitable in Ireland, because clearly demanded by justice. What was wanted was, not the creation of a majority so far as opinion was concerned, but just the kindling spark of some leading statesman's word to fire that opinion into practical power. Nay, in 1865, Mr. Gladstone himself was generally understood to believe that the question of the Church of Ireland was far too remote to have any immediate bearing upon practical politics. Yet he must have known very well that had the country been then polled upon this question, the result would have been decidedly in favour of disestablishment. Otherwise he would never have ventured, in the course of a Parliament elected without any reference to that subject, to have brought forward his famous resolutions which made theoretical religious equality the basis of practical legislation. Now what we maintain is, that disestablishment in England occupies at present precisely the same position as the question of the Irish Church during the years referred to. If a *plébiscite* could be taken simply on the question whether, apart from party interests, and purely as a matter of justice, the Church ought to be disestablished, we have no doubt whatever that we should have a large majority in favour of our view. At the same time we are perfectly willing to concede, what of course is patent to every observer, that the

question has not yet taken such a hold upon the constituencies as to turn that prevalent abstract opinion into a resistless political power. Other interests intervene. Questions of taxation directly affecting the pocket or the course of trade, possible dangers from a mistaken foreign policy, and a score of other matters of immediate and pressing significance, have a tangible importance, which requires no reflection to realise it. The vast body of working-class voters who can scarcely be suspected of any ecclesiastical leanings, are not yet sufficiently educated on the subject to estimate the extent to which the resources of the nation are drained for merely sectarian purposes. Mr. Gladstone's suggestion of 90,000,000*l.* as the price of disestablishment may perhaps do something to awaken them. But when he speaks as though an acquiescence, produced by causes such as these, must be interpreted as a proof of popular devotion to the Establishment, we think that notorious facts loudly contradict him. The greatest constituencies are those which, with few exceptions, most readily return supporters of disestablishment. True, they have not hitherto made it a condition of their favour; but there are many symptoms that this result is not far off. And when Mr. Gladstone, referring manifestly to clerical rowdyism, says that "when the views he (Mr. Miall) supports have been urged in different parts of the country, it appears that the mode of their acceptance is very equivocal," he alludes to violence of a sort that is always characteristic of a losing cause. In a word, the state of opinion is precisely that from which the summons of a great statesman may at any moment evoke a resistless Parliamentary majority.

With regard to the historical position of the Church Establishment, we should quite agree with the importance Mr. Gladstone assigned to it, though we should be inclined to interpret it somewhat differently. He says that it enters so profoundly "into the entire life and action of the country, that the very attempt in the mind to sever the two leaves nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass." When one remembers the martyr rolls of the Puritans and Covenanters, when one bears in mind the former activity of the pillory, the gallows, and the executioner's mutilating knife, in the interests of the Church of England, one can not help suspecting that there might have been much less bleeding and laceration, if by some miracle disestablishment had been accomplished 300 years ago. Mr. Gladstone's is an unpleasant figure, and suggests unpleasant reflections. But let that pass. No one asks now to revoke the past, but only to emancipate the futuer. Farther, as to the practical difficulties which appal even Mr. Gladstone when he fancies himself embodying our proposal in a bill, we have never denied nor concealed their magnitude. The noblest enterprises in human history seem impossible, till they are accomplished. But when the Prime Minister assumes that the lavish and wasteful indulgence shown to the late Irish Church is to be a binding precedent in dealing with the remaining establishments; and when he names 90,000,000*l.* as the amount we may have to pay to the English Church for having been so good as to live on the resources of the nation hitherto, we feel considerable consolation in the thought that his great influence is deferring the final consummation until a generation arises which will regard the precedent he quotes as equally unjust and dangerous.

Taken as a whole, the speech was admirably adapted to the momentary necessities of party politics. It disclaimed on the part of the Liberals any intention of attempting, during the present generation, the great but burdensome and laborious reform, which every one knows to be inevitable in the future. It is remarkable, however, that the speaker was much more cheered by the Opposition than by his own side of the House. And this was especially the case when he reproduced, and endorsed by his great authority, worn-out fallacies very dear to the Tory heart. Thus in accepting Mr. Miall's challenge, "Will you assert that thought is less free in Ireland now than it was before disestablishment?" Mr. Gladstone, referring apparently to certain changes in ritual that are distasteful to many Anglicans, replied amidst loud Opposition cheers, that he must answer the question in the affirmative. Now, with regard to the alterations which the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland has seen fit to make in some parts of her ritual, we are not at present offering any opinion. They may be good, or they may be bad. They may limit or they may enlarge the scope of opinion allowed to her clergy. But what we wish to point out is, that Mr Miall's question made no mention of the Episcopal clergy. He referred to the whole of Ireland, and Mr. Gladstone answers him by an assertion which cannot possibly amount to more than this, that there is now less freedom of thought allowed to the clergy of one particular denomination. This is a sort of fallacy to which we are often treated. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the religious arrogance generated by a legal Establishment than the assumption that freedom of thought in the country at large must necessarily be measured by the license allowed to the clergy of the dominant sect. Yet this is precisely the assumption Mr. Gladstone makes, when he answers for Ireland at large by a reference to Episcopalian squabbles. Even granting that his opinions were right as to the tendency of the alterations in Irish Protestant ritual, would it follow that religious thought in Ireland is less free, because it happens to be so among the Episcopal clergy? At any rate Mr. Gladstone has not been of opinion that the national resources of Ireland could be justly applied to the maintenance of a freedom amongst the Episcopalians which turns out to be repulsive to a majority of their number. So, with regard to the English Church. It might or might not happen that the conditions of the clerical office might be narrowed by disestablishment. If so, it must be because a majority of Anglican communicants desire such a change. But we will answer for it that it shall not affect our own freedom of thought. And the doctrine that the nation must needs bear the burden of an Establishment in order to give to the clergy of a great sect a freedom which they would not have the manhood to maintain for themselves, is the most odious form in which the old ghosts of protection and privilege could reappear.

The approving allusion to the sort of religious census demanded by Conservatives was also greeted with rapturous applause by the Opposition. "It is part of the case of the Church of England," says the Premier, "that she must, as an Established and National Church, draw in her train a number of persons attached to her by ties far less binding and far less effective than are those which unite the members of voluntary and unestablished communities." This is a very convenient figure of speech. But does she "draw them in her train" to Divine worship? If so, they can be, and have been counted there. If not, it is part of the case of the Nonconformists that in estimating their numerical position, the Church of England is unjustly credited with all who are of no religion in particular. As to the Establishment looking after those who don't look after themselves, where is the Christian Church which does not profess the same thing? And why should one be privileged with a special authority for this mission? On the whole, Mr. Gladstone's soothing words have doubtless quieted the anxiety of some wavering Liberals who thought the moment for decision was drawing near. But the opiate will not have any lasting effect, and may cause some evil dreams.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY AND MR. MIALL'S MOTION.—The executive committee of the Liberation Society have passed resolutions thanking Mr. Miall for his speech of Friday last, expressing regret that a majority of the House of Commons should have prevented the full discussion of his motion, and thereby deprived him of several votes, and expressing a determination to prepare for fresh and more energetic action to secure the triumph of their cause. The resolution will be found in our advertising columns.

Dr. Pusey has returned to his lodgings at Christ Church, Oxford. The health of the reverend Doctor has been much improved by his residence at Genoa.

THE SYNOD OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, which for some days has been sitting in Edinburgh, discussed on Thursday the scheme for an incorporating union with the Free and other Dissenting Presbyterian Churches, on the basis of the mutual eligibility of ministers. A motion by Dr. Harper was adopted declaring the conviction of the Church that the proposal lays an adequate foundation in principle for the union of the churches, and expressing regret that the attitude of a section of the Free Church has rendered a suspension of the negotiation probable, while it cherishes the hope that this suspension will be temporary.

THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMITTEE.—The examination of the Rev. Jenkin Brown, the last witness to be examined by the Parliamentary Committee on the working of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, was continued on Friday. The witness stated that he wished to see the Endowed Schools Commission confining themselves to education, and touching religious questions as little as possible. All Church of England property was in his (witness's) opinion public property, and should be dealt with as such. Mr. Brown explained what he had previously said, "that he was a member of the National Church in everything but religion," by saying that he was a member of the National Church so far as regards its property and creeds. The room was then cleared for the committee to consider their report.

STATE OF PARTIES IN THE FREE CHURCH.—We understand that a private conference has been held by some of the leading men in the Free Church, on both sides of the union question, for the purpose of seeing whether any possibility existed of finding an adjustment of present differences such as would obviate what seems to be considered the inevitable alternative—a disruption of the Church. Owing, however, to the determination still manifested in certain quarters to pass the mutual-eligibility overture, this movement has, we believe, ended in total failure. A separation at the approaching Assembly, therefore, is regarded as by no means improbable, seeing that many office-bearers and a much larger proportion of the Free Church people are understood to be resolutely opposed to having the constitution of the Church interfered with by the passing of the mutual-eligibility scheme; and that by at least a considerable number of this party it is felt that, in the circumstances, no mere declaration or protest would be of any avail as a means of protection.—*Scotsman.*

THE NEW CHURCH-RATE. — At Sheffield, on Thursday distraints were made on the premises of two Nonconformist tradesmen, who had refused to pay the school-board rates. One of the seizures included twenty-four bottles of sacramental wine. At the police-court several Nonconformists were summoned for neglecting to pay the rate, and the usual conscientious objections were pleaded. The bench refused to entertain these objections, and ordered the defendants to pay the money. At the last meeting of the Nottingham council it was decided by a majority of 17 to 9 to comply with the request of a memorial of the Nottingham Nonconformist Association (which represents thirty congregations), and to defer for six months the honouring of a precept for 500*l.* sent by the school board. The memorial stated that there are "not a few ratepayers in the borough" who would refuse to pay the rate if it were levied unless on an assurance that "no part of the money so demanded" was spent "in the payment of the fees of children attending sectarian schools."

THE MADAGASCAR BISHOPRIC.—The *John Bull* states that at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on Friday, it was announced that Lord Granville had formally declined to accede to the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the deputation of the laity which had waited on him on the subject of the Madagascar Bishopric. It was then resolved that the society request his grace the President to take counsel with the standing committee on the steps to be adopted for obtaining a bishop for the Church in Madagascar through the bishops of the province of South Africa or otherwise. The *Record* rejoices in this result, and says:—"Considering what a vast extent of unoccupied ground is to be found in the broad expanse of heathendom, we think that it would be the path of wisdom for the S.P.G. to select some other field of labour, and to imitate the conduct of the Apostle Paul, who disdained to build on another man's foundation. But if a bishop must be sought for, it would be ungenerous and unjust to insist on his going with a royal license to a foreign country to preside over 700 scattered Episcopalians. It is far better that the S.P.G. should seek a bishop from the South African Church, which, although it has seceded, is in full communion with the Church of England."

LIBERATION MEETINGS.—NEW SHILDON, NEAR BISHOP AUCKLAND.—On Wednesday evening the Rev. J. H. Gordon addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting, in the open-air here, the Mechanics' Institute committee, a majority of Churchmen being on the committee, having refused to let the hall. The Rev. J. Illingworth presided, and warmly introduced the lecturer. About 1,000 persons were present, and the utmost order prevailed. Mr. Gordon replied to the bishop's recent speech, and referred to some correspondence shortly to be published which had passed between them. A petition in support of Mr. Miall's motion was all but unanimously adopted. Another mean attempt was made, at the last moment, to stop the meeting, a platform having been erected of some planks belonging to a Churchman, who interfered, and prohibited their use. Mr. Gordon congratulated the planks, whom he classified with the committee and the bishop. Next evening, despite the persistent rain, a similar meeting, with similar results, was held in the open-air at Old Shildon, and the large audience stood out the proceedings with increase of enthusiasm. Mr. Gordon is desired thus to follow up the bishop's display of ignorance by exposition of our principles in every corner of the diocese. The greatest interest prevails.

DISESTABLISHMENT MEETING AT WOOLWICH.—VOTE OF CENSURE ON MR. GLADSTONE.—Under the auspices of the Religious Equality League, a crowded and enthusiastic public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Woolwich, on Monday, in support of the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church, more especially in reference to Mr. Gladstone's late speech on the subject. Not only was the Town Hall crammed, but the adjoining ante-room was also crowded. The chairman, Mr. Ebenezer Davis, characterised Mr. Gladstone's speech as a foolish and disgraceful exhibition. Mr. Mason Jones then addressed the meeting, and said the speech of the illustrious member for Greenwich had filled him with indescribable grief and sadness. The Prime Minister had committed political suicide. If he had said that he would think the matter over or leave it an open question, they might have par-

doned him; but to turn round and insult, and boldly slap them in the teeth, was an offence which should not be forgotten and which could not be forgiven. He denounced the transparent fallacies running through Mr. Gladstone's speech in terms of withering scorn. They required no refutation, they were beneath not only criticism but contempt. At the next general election the opponents of Mr. Miall would have to walk the plank. In fact, there was now no Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone himself had killed it. Indignation meetings should be held all over the country, and votes of want of confidence in the Government everywhere carried. In conclusion, he solemnly pledged the electors present never to vote for Mr. Gladstone again, and sat down amid frantic applause, which lasted several minutes. Sir John Bennett then moved—

That this meeting sees in the conduct of the Government, and in the speech of Mr. Gladstone, a total disregard of the essential principles of religious equality, and as a challenge to Liberals of every grade to show their power at the next general election by their support of candidates pledged to the disestablishment and disendowment of the English, Scotch, and Welsh Churches.

This was seconded by Dr. B. Langley, and carried unanimously. A cordial vote of thanks to Mr. M. Jones closed the proceedings.—*Communicated.*

Religious and Denominational News.

THE CITY TEMPLE.

The foundation stone of the new place of worship about to be erected on the south side of the Holborn Viaduct, for the use of the Rev. Dr. Parker's congregation formerly meeting in the Poultry Chapel, was "well and truly laid" on Monday last by Rev. Thomas Binney, LL.D., in the presence of a numerous assembly of ministers and members of churches. A tent capable of holding 2,000 persons had been thrown over the area of the proposed edifice (the basement of which was already in), so that visitors were, as far as might be, shielded from the nipping north-easter, and enabled also to form an idea of the dimensions of the building. It is designed to accommodate 2,000 persons. Its length will be 147 feet, its breadth seventy-eight feet, and its height fifty feet. The lower portion will be occupied by school, class, and committee rooms, and be chiefly devoted to educational purposes. The architects, Messrs. Lockwood and Mawson, of Bradford and London, have adopted the Italian style. The façade will somewhat resemble Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle; but on the north-west angle there will rise a square tower surmounted by a belfry and capped by a dome, the elevation of which will be 125 feet from the viaduct. The entire cost will be 56,537*l.*; but this sum includes no less than 25,000*l.* for the land, and 1,500*l.* for a half-year's ground rent to the City during the erection of the building. The contract with Messrs. Myers and Sons, the builders, is 26,444*l.*

The tent was well filled, amongst those present being the Rev. Dr. Parker, the Rev. Dr. Binney, Dr. Allon, Dr. Raleigh, Professor Newth, Dr. Underhill, E. Mannering, Mark Wilks, David Thomas (Bristol), J. Davies (formerly of the Old Gravel Pits, Homerton), E. Conder, G. W. Conder, S. Minton, N. Hall, A. Hall, E. White, P. J. Turquand, Thain Davidson, W. Rose, T. G. Horton, T. W. Aveling, W. Tyler, J. De K. Williams, V. Ward, A. Buzacott, D. Anthony, R. Davies, C. Dukes, T. Marzials, M. Faucher, W. Gill, G. Gill, E. P. Hood, Mr. Deputy Fry, Mr. Deputy Lowman Taylor, Mr. H. Wright, Mr. W. H. Willans, Mr. McGeorge, Chairman of the City Lands Committee, &c., &c.

The Rev. Dr. PARKER, before the proceedings of the morning commenced, rose and said they were sorry that they were not little more than thirty feet from St. Andrew's (an Episcopal Church); no effort had been spared to obtain another site, but without success. They occupied the spot they did in no spirit of sectarian heresy, and they could truly say, "Grace, mercy, and peace, with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." He thought it right, at the very outset, to offer this word of explanation.

The Rev. W. GRIGSBY announced a hymn of praise, after which the Rev. Dr. Raleigh offered prayer. A second hymn (announced by the Rev. E. Mannering) having been sung, Mr. JAMES JOHNSTON, hon. sec., made a brief statement, from which it appeared that only three weeks ago a number of ladies had taken charge of collecting cards, and no less a sum than 637*l.* 4s. had been gathered by this plan. The names of the contributors to the general building fund were also read, and these included friends distinguished for their liberality in the work of chapel-building.

Mr. Deputy FRY (to whose kindly assistance Dr. Parker paid a hearty tribute) in a few pleasant words presented the Rev. Dr. Binney with a silver trowel, expressing the joy it afforded all present to see their honoured and revered friend taking part in the service of the day.

The Rev. Dr. BINNEY, who was received with enthusiasm, said he felt doubly honoured in having such a trowel, and in having the honour of officiating as he was about to do. He wished all to understand that he took his part in the proceedings of the day on the express understanding that he was not to give an address; that there was to be a division of labour—he was to lay the stone and Dr. Parker was to give the address. He, indeed (Dr. Binney), thought that Dr. Parker ought to have done both, but upon being urged to perform this part of the work of the day he was willing to comply. (Loud cheers.)

The stone was then fixed in its place, Dr. BINNEY saying, before handling the trowel, that the bottle he placed in a cavity contained a paper containing the names of the pastor and officers of the church; the names of the building committee, and a copy of the *Times* of that morning. The editor would, perhaps, be pleased that *one* article especially in the paper, that on disestablishment, should be deposited in the stone; but, whether he would be equally pleased with what people would say when the stone was looked at in future ages, he, Dr. Binney, did not know.

The Rev. Dr. Allon having offered a fervent dedicatory prayer, a third hymn, announced by the Rev. R. M. Davis (Oldham), was sung, after which Dr. PARKER delivered an address in which he treated as he said, the service of the day "domestically," and avoided many outside questions which he nevertheless confessed to be most tempting. He thanked God for the favours of a lifetime which to-day filled him with astonishment and delight. He thanked the fathers and brethren who had gladdened them all by their sympathy. He was for some reasons very glad that they had determined to have a city church, although with 50,000*l.* at their disposal they could have gone into the suburbs among the villas, terraces, and quadrants. Instead of this they had resolved to spend the whole sum, and more too, in the present undertaking, which had a special claim upon city men and upon visitors. He closed by stating the doctrines to which he should ever give prominence in his ministry, and in a few touching words expressed the sorrow they felt in the enforced absence of the Rev. Dr. Spence.

The Rev. J. C. Harrison having announced the last hymn, the Rev. NEWMAN HALL, who was introduced as a "fellow chapel-builder," spoke, among other things, of the inexpressible importance of having in the centre of London such a building as the one about to be erected. Before Dr. Macfarlane closed the proceedings with prayer, Dr. PARKER read letters from some who were unable to attend, amongst whom were the Revs. Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Kennedy, A. Hannay, Mr. E. Baines, M.P. Mr. W. R. Spicer, who was unable to be present, sent a cheque from the firm for 50*l.*

A *déjeuner* followed at the City Terminus Hotel, under the presidency of Mr. S. Morley, M.P. The speeches delivered afterwards were admirable. The CHAIRMAN regarded the movement as the best kind of Anti-State Church teaching. The Rev. E. Conder (chairman of the Congregational Union), S. Minton, T. Davidson, Dr. Binney. D. Thomas (Bristol), G. W. Conder, Th. Marzials, E. White, Dr. Underhill, Mr. H. Wright, and Mr. Willans were the speakers. Towards the close of the proceedings Mr. MORLEY said he would give 200*l.* towards the sum of 3,000*l.* which had yet to be raised in order that the building might be opened free from debt.

MILTON MOUNT COLLEGE.

The opening of this noble institution, situated at Milton-next-Gravesend, and designed for the education of the daughters of Congregational ministers, took place on Friday last, in the presence of a numerous and distinguished assemblage. The idea of erecting such a building was formed by the Rev. W. Guest, two or three years since, and he communicated it to some other philanthropic gentlemen, all of whom felt the importance of establishing institutions for the education of young women. A committee, of which Mr. Guest was chosen hon. secretary, was formed to carry out the project, the intention being in the first instance to hire or build a house for a few girls, and to wait till the success of this small effort should win confidence; but as soon as this intention was publicly announced, numbers of respected ministers made applications for the reception of pupils. It was then decided to erect a building capable of receiving eighty girls, still with the view of enlarging it at some future time; four eminent architects were invited to send in plans and estimates, and a plan drawn up by Mr. E. C. Robins, of Southampton-street, Strand, was accepted. Tenders were then invited from several well-known builders, and the tender of Mr. R. Mann, of Kentish Town, at 7,349*l.*, was accepted.

The foundation-stone of the building was laid by Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., on the 5th of October, 1871, since which time the work has been steadily proceeded with, and the college is now ready for the reception of the pupils, more than a hundred of whom are expected to arrive and commence their studies this week.

The building itself is most picturesque and adapted to the inequalities of the site, which consisted of the side of a hill, but which has been excavated into terraces, and the earth thrown forward to raise the lower portions of the ground above the surrounding roadways. The hill itself, two or three hundred feet above the Thames, commands a most charming sweep of the river as it spreads out towards Southend, and of the woods of Cobham Park and Swanscombe, which are now wearing all the beauties of the spring foliage.

The prospectus recently issued by the executive states that the educational arrangements being now complete, it is believed that no school in England has a more efficient staff. Twenty pupils only will be placed under the supervision of each resident teacher, and great pains have been taken to secure the services of highly educated Christian ladies. Monthly examinations will be held, half-yearly reports furnished to the parents, and pupils sent up annually for University examination. The lady president will be assisted by experienced English governesses, a Protestant Parisienne, and two musical governesses, all resident in the college, besides eminent visiting professors, to give instruction in music, English elocution and composition, German, drawing, and calisthenics. An experienced housekeeper has been engaged to superintend the domestic arrangements, which are planned to combine extreme simplicity with sound care for health and comfort. With a view to turn out useful, sensible women, an effort will be made to assign to each of the senior pupils some responsible household or class-room duty, and to those designed for governesses opportunity will be afforded to acquire the power of teaching and training.

The ceremonies of Friday were inaugurated at noon by a ladies' meeting at the college, when there were present:—Mrs. Crossley, Mrs. Charles Reed, Mrs. Binney, Miss Davies (of Gorton College and the London School Board), Mrs. Spalding, Miss Buss (of the North London Collegiate School), Miss Porter (of the Chelsea Secondary School for Girls), Mrs. Wilson, Miss Marten, Mrs. Pye-Smith (hon. secretary of the Walthamstow School), Mrs Scrutton, Mrs. Guest, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Nisbett, Mrs. Beazley, Miss Leighton (Hornsey), Mrs. Poulton (Reading), Mrs. Butler (Leeds), the Misses Salt, and about one hundred and fifty other ladies.

Luncheon was provided at half-past two, when a large number of ladies and gentlemen sat down, and a devotional meeting followed at half-past three, at the commencement of which

The Rev. W. GUEST made a brief statement, setting forth the purposes of the institution, recounting the mingled encouragements and anxieties which had attended the operations of the committee from the first, and devoutly acknowledging the evidences of God's blessing throughout, and concluding with the following powerful appeal:—

Women form nations, and if the arch-enemy of England had sought to weaken the moral strength of the country, how could he have done it more effectually than by the all but universal indifference to the mental and Christian culture of woman? We know with what strong words the late Mr. Stuart Mill testified to the moral deterioration which was coming upon this nation from this cause alone. An effort can scarcely be said to have been made to awaken among young girls of the middle class a sense of their capabilities and their duties to society. In thousands of homes there is a vast amount of the very best mind unused. Had there been myriads of inanimate gems in the bowels of the earth, money would have been spent freely to bring them to the surface, to perfect and utilise them. But while for boys of this class provision has been lavish, for girls it has been "beggarly." The upper and middle classes, according to the *Spectator*, are at their wits' end to find competent instructors for their girls, and according to a high authority 40,000 female teachers will be needed in the British Isles for elementary schools. And yet while there are thousands of girls of the middle class eager for these positions, no educational appliances have they had to help them. It may be said this is to present the subject of the secondary education of girls in its widest relations, and not in the special one it bears here. Be it understood, however, that this college was founded under the force of these wider considerations. The question has a speciality here because different persons can only remedy a long and shameful neglect by working in one line. Constantly have we been met by the inquiry, not always put mildly, why should a special arrangement be made for the daughters of ministers? Our reply is—let every class work to place dependent girls in a better position than England has left them, viz., systematically excluded from all the advantages of endowed and better taught schools. The Marquis of Lorne said the other day that 1,585 of the clergy of the Established Church had incomes not exceeding 100*l.* a year. The fact is felt to be discreditable and prejudicial in every way. We are not quite so bad; but let any candid person have looked on the magnificent assembly of Congregational pastors filling the spacious area of Finsbury Chapel last Tuesday morning, and while he would have borne witness that countenances expressing more of moral and intellectual thoughtfulness, unprofessional earnestness of purpose, and spiritual feeling in its practical nature, it would not have been easy to find among any class of men, he would also have felt astonishment and sorrow that the average income of these ministers of religion was not 200*l.* a-year. There needs no argument to show that these men, as a rule, cannot leave their daughters provided for, and cannot educate them in any adequate sense. They either hopelessly submit to the necessity, or they make sacrifices on their behalf which have been read, not unfrequently, with bitter tears. The daughters of these men are socially precluded from menial work, and why should this be expected from them when they, above all others, are fitted to become teachers, and when the country needs an unfailing supply? We will give thanks to God, therefore, to-day, that there are ladies and gentlemen who generously come forward to do for these girls and their fathers what they desire above all things.

The Rev. Thos. Binney then read "Except the Lord build the house" and other appropriate psalms, and offered the dedicatory prayer.

A crowded public meeting was held at four o'clock in the dining hall (a handsome apartment with open-timbered roof), under the presidency of Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., when the following ministers were present:—Rev. Eustace R. Conder, M.A., Chairman of the Congregational Union; Rev. Alexander Hannay, secretary of the Congregational Union; Rev. S. Martin, Westminster; Rev. David Thomas, B.A., Bristol; Rev. Alexander Thomson, M.A., Manchester; Revs. T. Binney, J. Viney, T. W. Aveling, J. C. Harrison, J. G. Miall, R. Balgarnie, E. H. Jones, J. Kennedy, D.D., J. J. Pillans, A. McMillan, W. Guest, Professor Newth, J. G. Rogers, J. Radford Thomson, &c. There were also present Sir Charles Wingfield, M.P. for Gravesend; W. McArthur,

Esq., M.P. for Lambeth; J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P. for Norwich; G. Leeman, Esq., M.P. for York; Messrs. T. L. Devitt, W. Marshall, C. Walton, J. K. Welch, H. O. Wills, G. F. White, and many ladies and gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood.

After a few introductory remarks from the chairman, the TREASURER, Thos. Scrutton, Esq., said that the subscribers had been called together on that occasion, that they might see how their money had been spent, and he challenged them to show any one way in which it had been wasted. The furniture in the teachers' rooms might be thought rather luxurious, but fifty guineas had been given for that special purpose, and the room of the lady principal had been furnished by her own friends. The most expensive room was, perhaps, the reception room, but that was designed especially for the guests then assembled. The only purely ornamental part of the building externally was the tower, which the architect had persuaded the committee to adopt, on the plea that it was necessaryto "break the sky-line"; the tower, however, had been utilised as a receptacle for a water-tank. For the texts on the walls of the dormitories, the secretary was responsible; there was, however, one which was not to be found there, but which was peculiarly a treasurer's text, viz., "The liberal soul shall be made fat." Speaking roundly, the building would cost 20,000*l.* The original idea had been to construct at first the main building only, which would have accommodated 80 pupils, and afterwards to add wings with space for 70 more. But as 1,600*l.* had been promised for the wings, on condition that the building was at once completed; and as their subsequent addition would have necessitated the suspension of school operations for six months, it had been determined to complete the building at once. 5,000*l.* had been raised on loan, and 500*l.* had been offered on condition that the remaining portion (15,000*l.*) of the cost were at once raised; and this had been done by the help of the liberal contributions promised that day. But the interest on the borrowed capital would be a serious deduction from the annual income of the institution, and it was therefore very desirable that the entire debt should be speedily cleared off. The annual cost of each student would be 30*l.*, only half of which would have to be contributed by the student's friends. Books and stationery would be provided, also the travelling expenses of every student who came more than 100 miles. In conclusion, the treasurer announced the receipt of a letter from Mrs. Joseph Crossley, intimating that lady's desire to raise an endowment fund for the remuneration of the lady president, and reporting that she had already raised upwards of 2,000*l.* for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN would not detain the meeting with any lengthened remarks, as it was desirable that all the speeches should be brief. It fell to his lot to have a large correspondence with their poorer ministers, and during the last fortnight he had even had greater proof than ever of the need for such an institution. Many hearts would be made glad, and many homes happier through its instrumentality. He was sorry to say that ladies' schools in many instances needed to be better than they were, and there was a great necessity for educational establishments for girls similar to those so plentifully provided for boys. He had been charmed with everything he had seen that day connected with the arrangements of the building, and he thought that the committee had been fortunate in their selection of a lady superintendent, who was not only a lady of high culture, but of sterling piety also. He also thought it a great advantage to the institution that he (the chairman) had succeeded in inducing Mr. Scrutton to accept the office of treasurer.

The Rev. EUSTACE R. CONDER, M.A., said that if the speeches were to be short, the resolutions were certainly not so; that which he had been asked to move was really a speech in itself, and was as follows:—

> This meeting joins in very fervent gratitude to God, and congratulates the churches that this college, intended intended especially for the daughters of Congregational ministers, has been so auspiciously erected and opened; it heartily approves of the situation, the building, and its arrangements; it deems the movement very timely, and likely to confer the very best educational advantages on those for whom it has been originated; it is glad to learn that the first 112 pupils will come from every part of England, from Scotland, Wales, and the British colonies; it especially approves of the purpose to train teachers for private and elementary schools; it expresses its earnest hope that every Congregational Church in the United Kingdom will feel constrained to sustain the institution by an annual subscription, however small the amount, so that the unoccupied space may be filled by the applicants who wait for admission; and commends the further prosecution of the work to the prayers and confidence of the churches

Nothing succeeded like success, and the success of the undertaking was a sufficient answer to the objections that had been raised to the scheme—the success consisting not only in the completion of the building, but in the fact that 112 pupils would arrive to occupy it this week. Everything about the enterprise elevated it to a rank of dignity—there was nothing mean, or narrow, or low in any of its associations. On the journey from town that morning he had heard a rumour that the young ladies were to wear a uniform, but he was happy to find that this, though not an invention of the enemy, was certainly a product of the imagination. Considering the obligations under which the members of churches lay to their ministers, the work could not be looked at so much as an act of generosity, as the discharge of a just debt. Life should be invested with beauty and elegance. We might despise beauty, but (here the speaker held up a handsome bouquet) God did not, and we were not wise if we said that we preferred to be simply practical. Our sons were to be "as plants grown up in their youth," emblems of healthy vigour, but our "daughters as corner-stones," the chief elements indeed in the stability of the social fabric, but "*polished* after the similitude of a palace."

Mr. G. LEEMAN, M.P., said that, coming "after the king" (the chairman of the Congregational Union), and wishing to be present at the important division which was to take place in the House that evening, he would be brief. While feeling the deepest sympathy with the work, he thought it desirable to remove the impression, if any such existed, that it would place their ministry under any obligation to the laymen who had contributed to it. "Just and right" rather than "generous" were the terms by which the act ought to be designated, though he was glad to find that some ministers who would send their daughters, and were in a position to pay the whole of the cost of their education, had declined to avail themselves of the reduced fees. He thought Mr. Scrutton's position as treasurer more enviable than that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and considered it an advantage that their institution would not run any such risk of interference as Emanuel Hospital, and that it would be equally exempt from the supervision of Mr. Forster and the school boards. He hoped that Mrs. Crossley's scheme would be liberally supported, and that the position of the lady superintendent would thus be made one of comfort.

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS hoped that the western churches would not be backward in supporting the institution. Of Bristol he could speak with confidence, and he had no doubt that the chairman could speak well of it also. (Laughter.) He eulogised the activity of the secretary, who, if he had corresponded with ministers generally during the last two years as frequently as with him (Mr. Thomas), must have gone through much labour. He was, after all, sorry that there should be any more need for such an institution for the daughters of ministers than for those of other professional men; but in whatever respect the churches of the various denominations might differ, they were at least agreed in underpaying their ministers. A few of their wealthier members contributed according to their means, but what were the vast majority doing? That institution would administer spiritual help to the churches by diminishing the cares and anxieties of the ministers; and in view of their indebtedness for spiritual benefits received from them, some of their wealthier members ought really to send "conscience money" to that institution as some people did to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. MCARTHUR, M.P., rejoiced at the success of the work undertaken by his Congregationalist friends. A similar institution connected with his own denomination owed its existence to the efforts of two ladies, who, finding the connexion loth to take the matter up, took two houses on their own responsibility, and at once succeeded in raising 1,000*l.* Adding another house, they were enabled to begin with twenty-four pupils; and it was to be remarked as an evidence of the spiritual good which resulted that though these came without decided religious convictions, in three months twenty out of the twenty-four went to the Lord's table. The institution continued to prosper, and now provided for 150 to 200 daughters of ministers.

Mr. J. J. COLMAN, M.P., having to hurry back to the House of Commons, contented himself with expressing his sympathy with the institution, and his gratification that it was free from Government control.

The Rev. JOSIAH VINEY, as the representative of the kindred institution at Lewisham, expressed his sympathy with the new enterprise, and felicitously compared the two establishments to a brother and sister, and admitted that it was no more than proper that the sister should be fairer than the brother. But he claimed a measure of their interest for Lewisham, and humorously suggested that in the resolution calling on the churches to support the "institution," the letter "s" should be added to that word.

Thanks having been voted to the chairman, and the doxology sung, the proceedings terminated.

EDGEWARE, NEAR LONDON.—The Rev. J. S. Barker, B.A., has received and accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Edgeware for twelve months, and commenced his ministry last Sunday, May 18th.

WELLINGBOROUGH.—A union of the two Congregational churches of this town having been effected, the Rev. W. Courtnall, pastor of the church at Cheese-lane Chapel, has expressed his intention of declining to become a candidate for the pastorate of the united church.

ST. PAUL'S-SQUARE CHAPEL, SOUTHSEA.—On Wednesday, May 7th, a tea and public meeting was held to commemorate the completion of the fourteen years of the ministry of the Rev. J. Hunt Cooke in this place. Mr. W. Fielder, one of the deacons, in presenting a purse of gold to the pastor, in the name of the church and congregation, spoke of the uninterrupted harmony which had prevailed with pastor and deacons without a quarrel for fourteen years, and of present prosperity greater than at any previous time. A number of neighbouring ministers of different denominations were present. The following took part—the Revs. J. Eyres, J. Neobard, T. W. Medhurst, W. Jones, and C. Watkins.

Correspondence.

MR. GLADSTONE'S GLOOMY WARNINGS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you allow me a small space to refer to one particular point in Mr. Gladstone's speech on Friday night on Mr. Miall's motion which seems to me deserving of notice. Judging from one passage of the Prime Minister's speech, there is one blessing of liberated Church life, which he seems hardly to understand, or fails to appreciate fully. Referring to the Irish Church, and recent tendencies and discussions within it, he throws out gloomy warnings, and declines to see any encouragement therein to further apply the principle of disestablishment so clearly admitted in that case. He says, in effect, that he prefers the quiescent "freedom" of the English Church to such stir and storm in matters of doctrine as is at present proceeding in the Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone is once more completely Erastian on principle, preferring submissive silence of conscience under political definition, to the free debate and the readjustments which are the inevitable results of disestablishment. And so, he once more lifts the question above the low level of political expediency—mere numbers of votes and suchlike—into the higher plane of spiritual benefit. For, if his argument is really worth anything, it means this—that a Church will be most efficient, spiritually, when it has most *freedom of opinion*, and, according to him, this is again practically proved, by the salient example of Ireland, to be best secured to it by state patronage and control. But does Mr. Gladstone believe that the divisions and animosities of the Church of England are less virulent than those in the Irish Church because, to use a common phrase, they are not allowed to "come to a head," but continue, half-hiddenly, to send their *virus* to the extremities of the body? Are they any the less real because it is universally felt that it is the merest trifling to stir them, say, in Convocation? Does the fact that the civil courts declare on all points the creed, and administer finally as to all great contested questions, do away with the fact that matters of the deepest moment *are* as warmly contested within the Church of England as they possibly could be; and that the discussion of doctrine without the power to determine anything respecting it, is not more active, simply because men feel so little at peace and so little united, and because the whole thing is felt to be so hopeless, and individual conviction of so little moment? I would just call to mind Archdeacon Denison's protests, that have found no practical issue; Mr. Ryle's earnest cries for reform, which have surely met but the feeblest echo in the bosoms of politicians or opponents; Bishop Colenso's defiances, that so disturbed more than a mere party in the Church,—and that made even members of the "Broad School" for a time doubtful and silent.

Mr. Gladstone has read Scottish Church history, and read it to good purpose, if we may judge by the manner in which he spoke for the free churches when he was asked, a short time ago, to remove certain political pressure on the Scottish Establishment. He might have turned thither for the due corrective to the inference he too hastily drew from the present position of the Irish Church. There he would have found the practical example of centuries scarcely in his favour. What has been the voice of the Scottish Church leaders, from Knox and Melville downwards, on this great question? This—and supremely this—that when the Church has been quiescent as to doctrine—no earnest question regarding it, no discussion upon it, no active effort to bring the individual conscience into harmony with the creed through contact with the common conscience of the Church in Synod or Assembly—spiritual life was low, and that the *solidarité* and unity thus secured was a source of power and freedom to the Church. And the later leaders in the Scotch Churches are in this at one with the earliest, however much they may differ on other points. It is not only Chalmers, Buchanan, and Candlish who urge it, but magnates of the Establishment—Cookes, Macleods, and Piries. Even Principa Tulloch, who may be assumed to value "freedom" and "liberty" as much as any man living, calmly asserts that "quietude of opinion has always been an omen of evil, not of good, to the Church." Mr. Alex. Taylor Innes, in an interesting article in last the *Contemporary*, significantly writes—and it has a very direct bearing on the point in hand—

> The universal Scotch doctrine that all church creeds are fallible, and may and ought to be changed when the conscience or wisdom of the Church requires it, was specially appropriated by the Free Church. It puts into its formula that "God's Word is its *only* standard," and into its catechism that the *freedom* of the Church "*is violated when a church is tied to its confession by civil enactments.*." And the reviseableness of the confession has always been an axiom. So late as 1869 some one was rash enough to suggest that at least one man—the most extreme reactionist in Scotland, Dr. Gibson—seemed to hold the doctrine that the creed was "sacred from revision." But he denied it with an explosion of indignation. "I never held such a doctrine, and never expressed it; but have publicly, and in my lectures to my students on this very subject, declared the reverse, as they very well know."

What wonder, when we have in view the experience of Scotland for centuries in its efforts to reclaim

spiritual independence, that the Irish Church should begin earnestly to ask the meaning of its creeds, when real freedom has been given it?

Mr. Gladstone's inference from the present divided position of the Irish Church may, therefore, not only be illegitimate, but the very opposite of what ought to be drawn from it. Certain it is that, if quietude of opinion in free churches has "been ever an omen of evil," a "quietude of opinion" resulting *merely from force of political ties* can hardly be regarded as likely to prove a source of good. The vigorous discussions on the "Real Presence" and other matters in the Irish Church may, therefore, perhaps be regarded as the first stirrings of that "inquietude of opinion" which only becomes fully possible under that freedom which, according to the Free Church of Scotland Catechism, "is violated when a church is tied to its confession by civil enactments"; and, though like most first movements, tending to be somewhat extreme, is rather to be approved of than made a subject of gloomy warning and prophecy.

I am, yours, &c.,
OBSERVER.

OUR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND THE DAILY PRESS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The return of the anniversary season has brought with it the painful reminder of our inadequate representation by the daily press. I have had the great privilege of attending the Congregational Union meetings this week, and the magnificent demonstration on behalf of the London Missionary Society in Exeter Hall. Anything more enthusiastic and more completely satisfactory than these gatherings have been I deem wholly impossible. And equally impossible would it be to convey an accurate or an adequate conception of the earnest religious life and thought represented by those hundreds of picked men from the free churches of the country. As I looked over the assembled host in Finsbury Chapel on Tuesday morning, and witnessed the intelligent, all-alivedness of the pastors and delegates, I felt profoundly convinced that there was spread out before me no bad illustration of that moral and intellectual power which have made our beloved England the unique Commonwealth she is. Crowding those seats were men who in their respective localities were centres of religious and political life and liberty—the standard-bearers in a thousand conflicts, and the leaders of a thousand onslaughts upon the hydra-headed monster Wrong. And the cultured thought represented on that platform! The venerable Binney; the immortal Halley; the silver-tipped and silver-tongued Raleigh; the philosophical Allon; the fiery and the fearless Rogers; the perfect Harrison; *the* secretary Hannay. Rarely has speaker such an audience to address, and never had audience a worthier voice to hear. For the Chairman of the Union, Mr. Eustace Conder, was he who, manuscript in hand, was addressing the elect throng. Not a point was lost. Not a sparkle of the exquisite wit was overlooked. Every stroke told.

And the remarkable missionary meeting at Exeter Hall!—not to dwell upon the spectacle of the previous evening at Westminster Chapel. Who could gaze upon that vast sea of heaven-lit humanity—so utterly different in its every characteristic from a similar assembly of mere pleasure-seeking worldlings—without feeling that, W. R. Greg notwithstanding, there is a wondrous potency in the story of the Cross? I confess that coming to the spectacle fresh from a careful study of that remorseless critic's writings, it appeared to me, that of all the "Enigmas of Life," on the assumption that he was right in his sad conclusions respecting the work and the words of Christ, *this* was the most incomprehensible. As I heard from the lips of the young missionary from Captain Cook's Savage Island, the story of its redemption from its savagery through the simple preaching of the old old story, I inwardly exclaimed, "If this is delusion, let me be deluded! If this is fanaticism, let me be a fanatic!"

But—and this is my point, albeit I have taken a somewhat circuitous route to get to it—how little of all this valuable demonstration of the power and grandeur of Christianity reaches the teeming multitudes without. By nineteen out of every twenty of the bustling denizens of the metropolis all these meetings, and all this priceless evidence of the beneficent mission of the Gospel, is as unknown and as uncared for, as by the swarming multitudes of China or Japan. No vision of the world's millenium which has flooded our souls with its joy-inspiring beams, ever lights up their weary way. Sprung from the dust, they spend their petty lives in grovelling amidst its heaps, and then despairingly return to it again.

Now, if this was absolutely unavoidable one might bow submissively to the distressing fact; but it is not so. These miserable myriads know nothing about Christ's triumphs and God's infinite love, simply because they are never told. The principal source of information for them—the daily paper—is dumb upon the subject. They find in their *Telegraph* an elaborate description of an afternoon's display of coachmanship by a score of idle aristocrats, and the achievements of heroes in subjugating savage peoples to the faith of Christ are dismissed in a dozen lines! In every paper they find columns of matter pertaining to the betting ring and the racing course, but of God, and Heaven, and eternity, they find nothing but a blank. And yet this is a Christian land!

What, then, is the course suggested by these considerations? Plainly this—the early establishment of a sound-hearted, God-fearing daily paper. This is one of the great wants of our Protestant Nonconformity. I hardly know how our pious millionaires could better employ a portion of their wealth than in the establishment of such an institution. And when I think of the remarkable consensus of opinion among all the Free Churches on the leading questions of the day, I feel tolerably certain that this great moral power might be made a pecuniary success. It might also be made a bond of union for Protestants. What a trifle it is, comparatively, which separates us! Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, what are our differences compared with our agreements? Surely by combining our strength we could float the splendid enterprise. If a hundred thousand subscribers for one year could be secured, what would be the capitalists' risk? And who shall say that this is impossible? Impossible! I hardly know what would be impossible to a united Nonconformity. Certainly it would be impossible for a Liberal Government to treat it as it has treated a disunited one. We should have no more Forsterian legislation, and Mr. Miall would not again be rebuked in God's name by a Liberal Premier. The programme of the true reformer would soon be carried out, and a mighty impetus given to the world's restoration to its God.

I would have every county carefully canvassed by some influential resident Nonconformist. There are plenty of gentlemen who would gladly take up the work as their mission. I believe that few of us have an adequate conception of the amount of unemployed or wasted energy in our various churches. The secret of its unengagedness lies in the indefiniteness of the ordinary services demanded of it. Give these hundreds of educated men of leisure some worthy project to work at, and you accomplish a double purpose—each fraught with untold blessings. You will save them from sinking down into the abyss of snug animalism, and you will secure some valuable service to the cause of Christ.

It is possible that through long pondering, this project may have attained a somewhat exaggerated importance in my regard. I confess candidly that nothing appears to me more worthy of our attention at the present moment. The press is daily becoming more potent. For good or bad there is scarcely a power amongst us comparable with it. Here then is our grand agency for permeating society with sound and healthy principles. Our weekly press is doing its work among the various individual religious communities, and doing it well. But its influence is necessarily circumscribed, and its existence is no possible argument against the larger scheme.

I commend the project, therefore, to the serious attention of the Nonconformists of Great Britain. With the ultimate triumph of our principles is bound up the future welfare and glory of our country. The claims of patriotism, therefore, combine with those of religion in urging us to united action; and no better platform for such action could possibly be erected than a purely unsectarian, high-toned, thoroughly Christian daily paper.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,
ARTHUR CLAYDEN.

Faringdon, 16th May, 1873.

Anniversary Meetings.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

The Union adjourned from Tuesday to Friday, in order to allow the members to attend the London Missionary Society's meeting and services; but this year there was a prayer-meeting on Wednesday morning, at the Sunday School Union, its special object being to pray for that revival in the Churches which formed the subject of Mr. Martin's paper on the previous day.

On Friday, when the early hour of meeting, half-past nine, arrived, the attendance was very sparse indeed, both below and above, and, though the members kept dropping in during the next hour, the numbers never approached those of the first day. The proceedings opened with a paper by the Rev. S. Pearson, of Liverpool, on "The desirability of a Free Church Conference on practical religion." It briefly insisted on the absolute necessity for new Christian efforts to deal with the irreligion of the day, especially among the working classes, and suggested that, instead of such efforts being made by religious bodies separately, there should be mutual conference. The practical suggestion which he made—and which, he said, had originated with Mr. Spurgeon—was that a conference on the subject should be held; its basis being, not doctrinal belief, but practical work. If the principle were affirmed, the details could be considered hereafter.

After a pause, the Rev. J. McDougall, of Darwen, expressed his concurrence in the suggestion, saying that something of the kind should be the practical result of such a paper as that read by Mr. Martin. Supposing that the efforts of those who were seeking for disestablishment were successful, would the Churches be in a condition to meet the demands made upon them? And he expected that by 1880 the exigency would arise. The proposal of Mr. Pearson, if adopted, would revivify the Churches, and was especially needed in the large towns. The Rev. S. Conway expressed a wish for greater union as one means of effectually assailing the Establishment. To illustrate the ignorance of some Churchmen, he spoke of a cathedral dignitary who asked a Dissenter if Baptists, Independents, and Wesleyans ever exchanged pulpits. On Mr. Fisher saying Nonconformists neglected the poor, there were loud cries of "No, no." The Rev. T. Gascoigne, of Oswestry, thought a conference desirable, but recommended that there should not be hurry; and when it was held there should be plenty of preaching in connection with it. At this stage, the Rev. J. Graham, who has just arrived in England from New South Wales, came forward and was warmly greeted. He said that in that colony there prevailed religious equality—that the Congregationalists took a foremost place; its members occupying positions in the Government, and the governor and his family were sometimes attending their places of worship. That, however, had not come about without many a struggle. He spoke of the strong wish of the ministers for united evangelistic efforts—of the good results of united prayer worship, the exchange of pulpits, and theatre services. The Rev. G. M. Murphy suggested that there were two sides to the question; and he referred to the difficulties connected with the conference held with the Baptists some months ago. He thought that some practical question should be dealt with by the Conference, and that ministers should interest themselves in disputes between capital and labour and intemperance. The Rev. J. P. Gledstone suggested that they should proceed tentatively, by holding conferences. The Rev. J. R. Thomson said that such conferences had been held at Tunbridge Wells, and inquiries were being made as to the religious condition of the parishes all round. Mr. Pearson, after thanking the speakers for their expressions of opinions, proposed a resolution requesting the Committee to consider whether steps could be taken to carry the suggestion into effect. This the Rev. A. Hannay seconded, and in doing so, denied that the conference with the Baptists had been a failure. The Rev. W. Tritton asked why Churchmen should not be invited to the conference, and was told that that would be too sarcastic. The resolution was then unanimously passed.

A motion on the subject of temperance led to a short and lively discussion. The Rev. J. Jones, of Liverpool, who proposed it, described it as a very mild one, framed to secure agreement, and mild enough it was; since it only, and very briefly, expressed sympathy with every effort calculated to promote the sobriety of the nation. Before it could be seconded, the Rev. J. Russell, of Bayswater, jumped up to protest against so mild a resolution. The Rev. I. Mummery, who seconded the motion, though a teetotaller of thirty-five years' standing, did not approve of the attacks made on ministers and doctors. He enlarged on the great increase of drinking, as did the Rev. J. H. Wilson. The Rev. J. J. Stevenson, of Reading, in a manly speech, said, that while an abstainer by habit, and a Permissive Bill man, he objected to converting all their meetings into temperance meetings—an objection which was loudly cheered. Other organisations existed for dealing with the question, and they were enough, and only prejudice was excited by the forcing of the subject in the wrong places. There were other sins to denounce, as well as drunkenness; but it was not necessary to pass resolutions on the ten commandments. Finally, he denied that drinking was on the increase, having regard to the increase of the population. Life was increasing, and everything else with it, even to the eating of mustard, a sally which excited much laughter. The Rev. G. Snashall, of Ipswich, said that drunkenness was one of the greatest hindrances in the way of ministers of the Gospel. Mr. Russell now proposed an amended form of resolution, but it was declared, and not without reason, to be no stronger than the original form; but it was accepted and adopted with unanimity.

Following this discussion, came a paper, by Mr. W. H. Willans, one of the very few laymen who took part in the proceedings of the Union. The subject was "Attendance at Public Worship," and it complained in strong terms of the tendency to attend public worship only once a Sunday, and to

spend the day in a worldly fashion. The tendency was unjust to ministers, and was injurious to spiritual life. The old notions might be too strict, but the lines of demarcation between the Church and the world were becoming very faint. The excuses made were dealt with, and it was admitted that improvements might be effected in the services; the preparation of a liturgical service being suggested, and also regular exchanges of pulpits. There was no discussion on this paper; the chairman suggesting that the subject could not properly be entered upon at that late hour.

For there remained to be got through a resolution on the education question and endowed schools. The former was proposed by the Rev. T. Arnold, of Northampton, and expressed regret at the delay in the production of the ministerial bill, and the hope that it would provide for the appointment of school boards everywhere, and that schools receiving grants should receive a certain amount of voluntary subscriptions. Mr. Arnold went vigorously into the question, and insisted on the necessity for firmness. The Rev. R. Bruce, of Huddersfield, said that we could afford to wait for a bill, if it were a good one; but there were indications that it would not be, and that was probably the cause of the delay. He complained of the narrow spirit in which the Education Department worked the Act, and said that they tried to prevent the erection of undenominational schools. The Rev. W. Urwick opposed the resolution, as he has done others of the like kind, objecting to it point by point. To his speech, Mr. Hannay briefly replied that the Union had already accepted the principles to which Mr. Urwick objected, and, when the vote was taken, that gentleman was the sole objector.

The Rev. T. W. Davids proposed, and Mr. Schnadhorst, of Birmingham, seconded, a resolution condemnatory of the action of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, who had displayed a sectarian bias. The seconder said that while they might be credited with good intentions, it was impossible not to condemn their appointment of ten Episcopalian trustees to one Dissenter. There ought to be one or two Dissenting commissioners. Mr. Schnadhorst also urged the necessity for local objections to bad school schemes; saying that the commissioners pleaded that many of the schemes objected to by the Central Nonconformist Committee had not been objected to in the places affected.

This motion disposed of, the Rev. E. H. Jones, of Brompton, proposed a vote of thanks to the writers of the papers: seconded by the Rev. P. J. Turquand and carried. A vote of thanks to the chairman, moved by the Rev. J. C. Cuthbertson, and seconded by Dr. Kennedy, closed the proceedings. It was heartily passed; but everything was hurried through towards the end, that the meeting might break up at a quarter past one and the members go to the "opening festival" of the Milton Mount College—of which you will no doubt have some account from another hand. And so ended another annual meeting of the Union, a meeting characterised by seriousness, a practical spirit, and much harmony of feeling.

PUBLIC MEETING ON RITUALISM.

A public meeting, convened by the committee of the Congregational Union, was held at Finsbury Chapel on Friday evening last, to hear addresses on Ritualism and Romanism. There was a large assemblage of persons, the spacious chapel being nearly filled on the occasion. The chair was occupied by Jas. Spicer, Esq., J.P., who was surrounded by a large number of ministers and laymen who attended the meetings of the Congregational Union. A great number of ladies were also present.

The CHAIRMAN said that on an ordinary occasion he should have shrunk from occupying that position, but as an old member of the Congregational Union he felt that he was bound to accept the invitation of the committee to preside, and to express his hearty approval of the movement. When they saw the great efforts which the Papal Church is making for the conversion of the English people to her Romish views they were justified in raising the standard against them. But when they saw in the Church of England, which ought to be the great bulwark of Protestantism, men who were paid to teach the great doctrines of justification through the cross of Christ, deny those doctrines, and put on Romish apparel, imitate the Romish priests with their candles and their incense, it was high time they raised their protest In drawing attention to this subject, the Union was doing a great service, not only to the Congregational Churches but to the general cause of Protestantism in England—and to those great principles for which our forefathers suffered. They stood up to-night for the maintenance of Protestant truth. The Bennett judgment had clearly shown that the Church of England is incapable of exercising discipline on the traitors within her gates, and it became the solemn duty of the Free Churches to bear their testimony against them. When they saw the Roman Catholics coming forward to demand that in grants for education they should have entire control over that education they must protest against it. It had become more and more evident that while there was an Established Church these evils would exist, and it was a matter of the deepest interest to them whether a Church which allows these men to remain in it should be sustained by the nation; and whether they shall not make common cause against it. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. HALLEY was then called upon to deliver an address on "The Faith of the Young endangered by Ritualism." The speaker said he once heard the Rev. Algernon Wells relate a story of a farmer who was a very respectable man himself, and very particular about others being so too. He was elected a deacon of a Congregational Church, and had the misfortune to lose his wife, and on the minister informing him of his intention to preach a funeral sermon about her, he asked him to put a little Latin into his discourse as it would sound so very respectable! (Laughter.) He (Dr. Halley) would put a little Latin into his subject because it would serve him as a text. It was "*obsta principiis*"—"resist the beginning." Popery, as they now knew it, seemed to have reached its maturity, and they were there that night to discuss its evils. Great as were those evils they had grown from small beginnings. The principles of priestism were working in the earliest ages, and had come from that dark shadow which the Apostle saw at Miletus. And from that shadow had grown the thick darkness of Popery. There might be some symptoms of weakness about it, which were seen in the extremes into which it was running, and in the anxious view taken of it by European Governments. At the present time, the doctrine of the immaculate conception was presented with such authority that no true Roman Catholic could deny it without committing unpardonable heresy, and the Pope had declared himself to be infallible, and never before was that dogma declared to be one which could not be denied. This might be a symptom of weakness, but he could not think that it can grow worse than it is now. But let it be remembered that Popery was the outgrowth of principles which were very common now. There were, he thought, three great principles of Popery as they knew it. First, the authority of a human priesthood; secondly, fashionable Ritualism; thirdly, Jesuitical evasions of truth. There was not, indeed, much danger of the authority of a human priesthood in our Congregational Churches, or of their ministers assuming the priestly office; but if they ever did attempt it, he trusted the churches would not permit it. (Hear, hear.) But, if there had never been a little priesthood there would never have been a Pope. There might seem a great difference between a young priest and a full-blown Popish priest, who professed to transfigure the wafer-bread into the real body of our Lord. The priest in the Catholic Church, being in the apostolic succession, could consecrate water and make it so holy that it conferred blessings on those who used it; could so baptize a child that it must go to heaven, and could not by any possibility be lost. He could so change the wafer that those who partook of it did really think they ate the body of Jesus, and derived from it such blessings as he for one could not understand. They could also give a safe guidance through purgatory, or deliver any therein, although it did seem to take a long time to do. Whence came all this? It came from the human priesthood. The speaker went on to refer to the danger of young people especially being allured and fascinated by Ritualist observances. There was danger, great danger, that the mere excitement of emotion should be mistaken for real religion, of the effects of beautiful colours presented to the sight, and melodious sounds falling on the ear being mistaken for true religion. There was danger of the sacrament being administered so that the mind should be influenced by the outward spectacle. That which was at first only emotion afterwards grew into superstition. As to those evasions, Jesuistical evasions, of the awful realities of religion—teaching that they might do wrong for the honour of Christ and for the glory of the Church, he knew that there were Catholics who objected to these things, but the Jesuits have gained the victory over them in the Roman Catholic Church, and its more moderate members were silenced and not allowed to express their opinions. But were there no evasions of truth in Protestant churches? Had they never seen the germs of such evasions in the Established Church? He hoped Protestant Dissenters were free from these things. There was nothing he more admired in the old Puritans than their value of truth. We are the descendants of those old Puritans, and shall we betray them in this respect? (Hear, hear.) But when he looked around him in the Episcopal Church what should he say? What was this signing of articles which the clergy did not believe. What should he say of men who repeated beliefs which they did not believe, although they might not repudiate them openly. He feared the Ritualists were not alone to blame in these respects—(Hear, hear)—that many of the bitterest opponents of Ritualism might be charged with these things. Where could we look in the Church of England for that which would satisfy us? They heard of the omission of clauses in the Athanasian Creed so that tender consciences might not be hurt; they saw men rising on Trinity Sunday to repeat these clauses, and were told that they did not repeat their own belief, but the Church's creed. As well might they say that when they pray they were not praying, but only repeating the prayers of the Church. The clergy said they were only the unwilling instruments, and that they could not help it. But all these things had arisen out of the violation of first principles. Popery had grown up out of these evasions. He believed in developments in creation, and in all around them—for all things were developing. Some people seemed to think that all things had developed out of nothing; but how life could have been developed out of a dead stone, he could not conceive He was an old-fashioned man, and as an old man, he believed that all things were created by a living God. He believed in the development of religion, and also in the development of Popery with all its errors; and therefore he said with all his heart "*obsta principiis*"—"resist the beginning." With churches without a human priesthood, with simple services and without evasion of truth, they would be safe; but the moment they left these things, and trusted to others to do for them in religion what they could do for themselves, they encouraged the principles of Popery, and that from which had grown up all these errors and evils. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. H. W. PARKINSON, of Rochdale, was then called upon to deliver an address on "The Limits of Catholic Reaction." It could not, he said, be doubted that in the present generation, a great change had taken place as regards Roman Catholicism. It used to be regarded in his boyhood as a monster, and now they began to think that it was a mere evil. Except by old families who valued an old religion as they valued all things old, it was regarded as an importation, and no Liberal was afraid of it, for he looked upon it as an old superstition which could not now affect the minds of sensible Englishmen. But of late there had been creeping over the public mind a doubt whether Romanism was not true after all. Some of them had been loth to believe in this reactionary movement. Three years ago, he himself said of Romanism, that it would never be anything more than the surging of the retiring tide. This remark was objected to by some of his brethren, who thought it was a too sanguine view of the matter. The movement towards Rome began about thirty years ago at Oxford, and it was then called Puseyism. Dr. Newman was one of its leaders, but it would never have done to have called it Newmania. (Laughter.) Since then it has been called High-Churchism, and Ritualism; but the object has been always the same—viz., to restore the mediæval form of religion and to bring the people under the domination of the priests. It was no longer a craving for union with the Catholic party of Christendom, but for the real presence in the sacrament and all the superstitions of Rome. It would seem also that the time has gone by when there was any necessity for veiling these doctrines even in the Church of England, and they were now openly proclaimed. It was well to see what opposite authorities said on the subject, and to read the *Rock* and the *Church Times* was to go through a course of allopathic and homœopathic treatment. Each appeared to regard the other as if he were no better than a Dissenter. (Laughter.) The Evangelical organ told them:—"If a burglar has broken the eighth commandment, Mackonochie has broken the second, and is more to blame." On the other hand they found the Ritualist paper saying:—"A judicial blindness has settled down upon the Evangelicals, and they are bereft of all reason." But both these parties told them that the Church of England was set for the defence of the faith; really they ought to be very grateful for the existence of Nonconformity, for it supplied them with the only subject on which they were agreed. (Hear.) On the occasion of the late deputation to Lambeth on the subject of Ritualism, the archbishop tried hard to say nothing on the subject, but at last saw his way clear out of the difficulty when he thought of the Dissenter. The Archbishop of York followed his example, and was careful to keep clear of the point of the petition. He thought that only the Roman Catholic party could gain by this movement. Was not this a very unfortunate time to make such a statement? At the taking of Strasburg the besiegers turned the defenders' guns upon themselves, and this appeared a very similar proceeding. (Cheers.) He wondered whether the archbishop ever saw a midnight mass in Holborn, and all the Protestants there fall on their Protestant noses, or saw, as he himself had done the other day, a priest go behind a curtain with a young girl and listen to her muttered confession. (Shame.) Could it be worse for Protestantism if the Church were disestablished and disendowed? The *Church Times*, commenting on the presentation of the petition to the archbishop, says that those prelates were without a shred of moral influence, and that the petition might as well have been presented to the two beadles of the Burlington Arcade! (Laughter.) In his researches into the geological formation of the Church of England, he went to St. James's Hall to the meeting of the Church Association. It was not a very brilliant affair, and seemed to have an air of "who's afraid" about it. He then learnt that the association, at great cost, had ascertained that a great many things which were done in the Church of England were illegal, and he also learnt the things which were held to be illegal. (Mr. Parkinson here mentioned some of the things which were declared illegal, and said it was a great comfort to find that they were so, or what would have been the use of the Reformation?) But in a notice to

correspondents in the *Church Times*, they were told "that no clergyman thinks the Bennett judgment binding." He who believes this might one day find that those who offend without law may also perish without law. This paper also rejoiced at the death of John Stuart Mill—(shame)—and thought it would be a good thing when those who thought with him went likewise. What was to be the limit of this reaction? He would not attempt to forecast it, but he would not believe that England could so far forget the past as to sacrifice the liberty which she had attained. (Cheers.) So long as it was confined to opinion in the Church of England, it did not seem to matter; but when the question had to be decided outside, then would come the cry, "Down with the confessional, away with the mass, let Popery be anathema and maranatha." (Loud cheers.) He believed that the right of private judgment, and of the individual responsibility of man, were placed in the trust of the Free Churches. (Cheers.) The Evangelicals had not been faithful. They had sacrificed their birthright for a mess of pottage. They had asked what is the law, but not what is the Gospel — (Hear) —and he believed that, like the foolish virgins in the parable, they would one day have to come and ask Nonconformists to give them oil because their lamps were gone out. (Laughter and cheers.) Their protests are of no use so long as they would not make any sacrifice for conscience' sake. They want Nonconformists to go to them, but they must come to Nonconformists. England could never be again brought into bondage to Rome while there were 5,000 free churches in her midst. (Loud cheers.) They could leave others to oppose Romanism as they pleased, but their protest lay not in intellectual subtleties, but in the Divine order of their Redeemer. As they saw this great company coming up with their dyed garments, they met it with this cry, "No localised Christ, but 'where two or three are gathered together there am I in the midst.' Christ not in the hands of the priest but in the heart. Christ the hope of humanity." (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. W. BRADEN, of the Weigh House Chapel, then came forward to deliver an address on "The Pretensions of Ultramontanism." He said they had heard a great deal lately of Ultramontanism in speeches and leading articles, but very often the meaning of it has not been explained. It literally meant "on the other side of the house," and had been used by the Italians to describe those on the opposite side of the house of Legislature. But it had two meanings, and was generally applied to those who implicity accepted the infallible authority of the Pope, and the syllabus of the Papacy. Dr. Manning said that Ultramontanism was Popery, and Popery Catholicism. The pretensions of the one were the pretensions of the other, and what these pretensions were they had just begun to see. Mr. Braden here read a quotation from Dr. Manning's last work, in which he says that the Pope is the witness for faith and truth, and is charged with the supreme judgment in faith and in politics, and he is therefore the guardian of the Christian commonwealth, and all it represents, and that he (Dr. Manning), is released from all subjection to the civil power, and claims to be the sole judge of what is right and true. Here was something like a claimant! (Laughter.) He (Mr. Braden) ventured to say that these claims would be repudiated when they were put before the bar of justice and tried by the instincts of common sense and the Word of God. What were some of the effects of these things? The Pope demanded complete dominion over all spiritual and political things, and this exalted him above the Queen. He claimed for himself ability to decide for all Catholics, which involved their doing just what he bade them, so that if he told them to revolt against the Queen they must do so. He said that any man who believed this was not a loyal subject of the Queen. He utterly distrusted the loyalty of one who says, "I am a Catholic first, and an Englishman secondly," and of one who drinks the health of the Pope before that of the Queen. One of the effects of Ultramontanism then, was to introduce a foreign ruler, and to exalt his authority over that of the reigning power. There was a law existing that the Pope had no jurisdiction in this realm, and there was no chance, he thought, of that being repealed. The priests now forbade any Roman Catholic to be married in Protestant church, or to allow the children of mixed marriages to be brought up in the Protestant faith, on pain of refusal of the sacraments. It was at such things as these that their indignation was aroused. In regard to education Cardinal Cullen claimed to have the education committed to the priests and their agents. Both here and in Ireland they were the advocates of denominational education. They said it would be demoralising for their children to be brought up with Protestants. They clamoured for schools where they could teach their own doctrines at the public expense. And they were prepared to fight on the side of the Anglican clergy for the purpose of getting this. 18,000 children were educated at a cost of 270,000*l.*, of which 135,000*l.* is to be contributed by the State, and they are thus to pay for their education in the Roman Catholic faith. No wonder the Romish priests welcome the aid of the Anglican clergy in this matter, and at seeing the latter playing into their hands. He looked with satisfaction at the fate which had overtaken the Irish University Bill, but there was no intention in that bill to favour Roman Catholic pretensions, and that was seen by the Roman Catholic members voting against the bill, because it gave them no money. They wanted concurrent endowment, but the nation thought no favour should be shown to any sect. Henceforth the priests were not to dictate to them in this matter, but they must all meet on common ground. No one now dreamt that the Ultramontanes would succeed in their demands. How were they to stay their pretensions? He was no advocate for persecution, and they would not ask for any laws which should fetter liberty. They had had a struggle for liberty themselves, and would not shrink from it. Let the Roman Catholic have full religious liberty, but if he claimed that the funds of the nation should be at his disposal for the education of the children in his own doctrines, they would not have it, but would cry "hands off." The Rev. F. Oakley says the Roman Catholics hope to become the dominant Church in England. If that should be so, who would be to blame but the Church of England? How was this to be avoided? By the State declaring, once for all, that it would have nothing whatever to do with religion, that it would administer secular matters only and leave the churches to manage their own affairs. For that purpose, they must have what Mr. Miall was asking the House of Commons for that night. (Loud cheers.) And then all their difficulties about schools and their claims would be settled, and the Free Churches would be able to grapple with Rome as they could not now do; for the struggle between Protestantism was far more more difficult now through this alliance. (Hear, hear.) Let them understand what the claims of Ultramontanes were. Dr. Manning, in a recent speech, says, "We have to conquer and subdue a race whose will is as strong as that which the Romans of old possessed." This is not the statement of a young man, but one of the ablest and clearest minds amongst the Roman battalions. He says, "We have to bend or break this will." Yes, by persecution as of old if they get the power. Were they prepared to be bent or broken? (No, no.) Would they confess themselves beaten? Was this imperial race to crouch down at the feet of the Pope? No, they were resolved to maintain their heritage, and they would still hand on their privileges to their children, and they prayed, "So help us God." (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. A. HANNAY then pronounced the benediction, and the meeting separated.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The anniversary proceedings of this society commenced on Monday morning with the usual early prayer-meeting at the Mission House, and the town and country directors met in the board-room in the afternoon.

The Rev. Dr. KENNEDY, of Stepney Meeting, and chairman of the Union, preached the annual sermon at Surrey Chapel, where there was a large congregation of ministers and other supporters of the society. The liturgical service of the Church of England was conducted by the Rev. Newman Hall, and prayer was offered before the sermon by the Rev. W. J. GARDNER, a worthy missionary recently returned from his sphere of labour in Jamaica. The object of Dr. Kennedy's able discourse was to meet the challenge which had been thrown down before the friends of Christian missions to show cause for their continuance, in view of their alleged failure. He selected his text from the words of Isaiah (xlii. 4), "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till He have set judgment in the earth." In the course of his discourse the rev. Doctor maintained that the mere slowness of the progress of Christianity in setting judgment on the earth is no sufficient reason why the Christian Church should be moved from its hope and purpose in respect to the world's deliverance. The Divine law of procedure, as verified by the conclusions of science, was that of slowness, as men account it. Further, nothing can be found in the world's progress, since Christ ascended from Mount Olivet, the progress—that is, of its thought and discovery—to supersede the endeavour, or to render it less needful in the world's interest than it was. Still further, the preacher continued, that if the world's experience of its own powers, for 1800 years, leaves us as dependent on Christianity as ever, happily we are not without abundant evidence that Christianity has, during this long period, lost none of its power to affect men for good. This position was established by adducing instances of the moral effects of the Gospel in modern times. Lastly, it was maintained that the Church might pause in the work of Christian missions if—but only if—the foundations of Christian faith had been shaken in any way or destroyed; if the progress of science, of historical investigation, if purer ethics had proved the story of Christ untrustworthy, or Himself not divine. Here Dr. Kennedy had the opportunity for touching on the various scientific and philosophical propositions that have been advanced in modern times, and also for dealing with the sceptical ideas concerning Christ and His religion that have been so boldly given forth to the world by learned objectors. The service was closed with prayer by the Rev. J. F. Stevenson, of Reading.

In the evening the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Swansea, preached in Westminster Chapel, which was crowded in every part by a congregation of between three and four thousand. The devotional part of the service was conducted by the Rev. J. G. Rogers, of Clapham. Mr. Jones took for his text 1 Cor. xv. 46, "Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual," from which he preached a powerful sermon, which was listened to with rapt attention.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

The seventy-ninth anniversary of the society was held at Exeter Hall on Thursday morning. The chair was taken at ten o'clock by John Crossley, Esq., of Halifax. Every part of the hall was well filled some time before the commencement of the proceedings, and the platform was, as usual, crowded with representative men from London and the provinces. After the singing of a hymn, and prayer offered by the Rev. J. P. Gledstone, of Hornsey,

The CHAIRMAN delivered a brief address, in which he shortly described the objects of the society and the visible results that had followed its missionary efforts. Whole lands in which human life and property were insecure and every virtue unknown were now the abodes of peace, and justice, and honour. (Hear, hear.) The history of Madagascar alone, if no trophies were found in any other portion of the missionary field, was enough to justify and recompense all the effort and money which had been expended in the cause of the London Missionary Society from the day of its foundation to the present time. Who could read the history of the mission to South Africa, or hear from the venerated lips of the Rev. Dr. Moffat—(applause)—the recital of his work among the Bechuanas, and not feel their enthusiasm kindled on behalf of a society, which, under God, had been the means of so much good? and let them cherish thankfulness and gratitude to God for the wonderful blessings He had vouchsafed in the past, self-reproach for their fears and unbelief and an earnest resolve to consecrate themselves more unreservedly to this noble work. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. MULLENS read the annual report, or rather noticed its prominent features. After expressing sympathy with that longing for a revival of religion which was felt by many friends of the society, it proceeded to say that the strongest pressure upon them was from the steady, healthy growth of their various fields of labour. During the past year it is simply the ordinary claims of these mission-fields which have fully occupied their time, and care, and funds.

The activity runs strong and full. New demands are ever reaching them; and, in the great empires of the East, if they had the means, they would find no difficulty in multiplying their efforts threefold. They have maintained all their usual agencies, and have made preparations for stronger work in certain localities, which will appear more fully in the coming year. In these proceedings they have been thoroughly sustained by the liberality of the society's friends. Last year the directors pleaded for a larger income to overtake new demands, and that larger income had been given. The various anniversary services of the auxiliaries manifested an unusual degree of interest; and never were the resources of the mission-house more severely taxed to supply the deputations needed for these services. Dr. Moffat had been everywhere received with the warmest affection, and his visits had been productive of excellent results. All the missionary brethren at home who shared in the public services of the year speak of the deep interest in missionary work which prevails in the churches. The result has been a moderate increase in the ordinary sources of income. The special contributions to the Madagascar mission and the Moffat Institution have continued to flow in; and the juvenile offering, which was this year devoted to the repair and maintenance of the John Williams, reached the unprecedented sum of 3,400*l.* One special result following Dr. Moffat's visit to the auxiliary meetings was the raising of a testimonial, amounting to 5,800*l.*, intended both to secure his personal comfort, and to enable him to make due provision for the children and grandchildren still dependent upon his care. The directors greatly rejoiced in this manifestation of the high regard in which their honoured friend is held; and they thought it right to contribute to the testimonial a donation of 250*l.*, while they reserved to themselves the privilege and pleasure of making provision for his comfort in the usual form as long as his life is spared. Whilst deprived of several valuable colleagues and missionary labourers, including Dr. Cooke, Mr. Saddington, William Ellis, Dr. Wardlaw, Dr. Hobson, J. Milne, and Mrs. Griffith John, the directors report with pleasure that applications continue to be made by young men to enter the society's service, from which they have been able to secure several eligible candidates during the past year. Six new missionaries went abroad last year. There are now forty missionary students, of whom twelve will proceed to various stations during the coming year. Of these six are appointed to India and China. For several years the directors have been anxious to see the native church more heartily engaged in the work of preaching. During the past year several native ministers have been ordained, both in China and in India. The society now numbers over one hundred brethren, who are pastors of native churches or missionaries. One of these, connected with the Amoy mission, named Jeo, a most devoted brother, had been cut off in the midst of his work. But the greatest loss of this kind which has fallen upon the China mission is the death of Ho-Tsun-Sheen, the native pastor of the church at Hong Kong, who was associated with Dr. Legge for more than thirty years. Both on old ground and new the native pastors and missionaries, with their three thousand native assistants, have widely extended the society's usefulness. The South Sea missions had continued to prosper both in the older stations and in the new. A number of details illustrative of the work in the various islands were given.

At the present time, the South Sea Mission presents great varieties, from the communities of the coral islets first learning the Gospel to those who have been longest taught and most deeply tried by intercourse

with men of other lands. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of their improvement arises from the recklessness with which the strong races of Europe and America both degrade those who are improving, and sink to the degradation of the heathen who have never been raised. Throughout the past year the two principal islands of the Loyalty group, the Islands of Lifu and Mare, have enjoyed peace. But the fanatic persecution of the Protestant converts in Uvea has broken out more violently than ever; and no amount of remonstrance with the French authorities seems effectual to secure justice or protection for these poor ill-used people. In April last several families were massacred, and others were threatened with extermination, unless they gave up their religion. The directors again, therefore, appealed to Earl Granville, and requested him to lay the case of these converts before the French Government in Paris.

Special reference was made to the Rev. A. W. Murray's return to New Guinea to watch over the new mission at Cape York. He was accompanied by thirteen native missionaries. In the little group called the Murray Islands, the energetic and devoted native teacher, Mataika, has met with a gratifying success. After examining the stations which had been established during his first visit, Mr. Murray prepared to take up new ground on the eastern peninsula of New Guinea, and, with the Rev. W. W. Gill, made his way across the head of the Papuan Gulf to Redscar Bay. Here he was able to place teachers at a little town called Manumanu, in the centre of the Bay. The directors at the outset appointed the Rev. S. Macfarlane, of Lifu, to the New Guinea Mission, with Mr. Murray; and they have now invited the Rev. W. G. Lawes, of Niue, also to undertake a share in this important mission. The directors have decided to supply the mission with a small steamer for local use; Miss Baxter, of Dundee, has given 2,000*l.* for this purpose. It is hoped the little vessel will leave for Cape York during the summer. The mission in Madagascar has received a large share of attention from the directors during the past year.

Additional contributions have been received from many friends for the enlargement of the mission which was so heartily approved a year ago; six new missionaries have proceeded to the island during the year; three others will follow in a few weeks; and it is desirable that three or four others shall join them early in the next civil year. In the island itself the year has not been marked by striking events; but the varied agencies of a strong mission have been steadily kept in operation, and under God's blessing are firmly building up the people in their holy faith. Large and attentive congregations gather every Sabbath, not only around the English missionary, but around every native pastor and preacher who is able, with earnestness and intelligence, to expound the Word of God. Spiritual knowledge and power are growing among them, and are going forth from them to their less enlightened fellow-countrymen farther away. The Bible-classes, so largely attended, so fully taught, and so truly adapted to the present needs of the people, are numerous and well sustained. The schools are growing in number as fast as competent teachers can be provided, and a fitting income for them can be secured. Competitive examinations stimulate the scholars; and were it not for social difficulties in the way of all who increase their power of usefully serving others, the number of scholars would greatly increase. Chapel building continues in the villages, and the duty of making personal effort and offering personal gifts in the Lord's service is being increasingly felt and acted upon. The people are willing to learn, and to use what they know. Everywhere the church-members in town and country are forming themselves into little schools, and have been successfully engaged in teaching other adult members to read, in the hope and with the desire that there shall not be one member in the church unable to read the Word of God for himself. The large increase in the number of members admitted to the full privileges of the church during the past two years, has been regarded by the missionary brethren, and by their more thoughtful native coadjutors, with deep concern. Under the earnest impulse of the time, the native pastors in villages and districts specially dependent upon them, were not sufficiently careful in their admissions. All the missionary brethren refer to it as a serious evil. The directors agree with the missionaries that unless great care is taken, if possible, to undo the evil that has already occurred, and certainly to put a stop to it in the future, the native church will seriously suffer. The peculiar circumstances in which the Madagascar mission is placed, have suggested to the directors that they should adopt a course which has more than once been taken by our own and by other societies, of sending a deputation personally to visit the island. It has been long felt by many that nothing less than prolonged personal conference and consultation between a deputation of the directors and the missionary brethren on the spot will secure the great ends which the enlargement of the mission has in view. This conference is desired by the missionary brethren as well as by the board; and the pleasant relations which have always existed between the missionaries, the officers of the society, and the directors, give augury of the happiest results.

Reference is then made to the familiar subject of a Madagascar bishop, and to the final refusal of the Government to appoint one. The report, after detailing the facts which have already appeared in our columns, says—

The Missionary Societies of Europe and America have now for many years acted on the wise and healthy rule of not interfering with each other's labours. Scattered throughout the world, yet meeting at hundreds of points in cities, towns, and districts filled with heathen, they have long since found that they can heartily work together on those vital doctrines and practices of the Christian faith upon which they are agreed, and which they have gone thither to proclaim. There exist, therefore, brotherly union, hearty co-operation, mutual help, and a warm appreciation of each other's efforts. With the Church Missionary Society and the members of the Friends' mission, their fellowship and co-operation have been uninterrupted. The stations of the Propagation Society they have always respected; and it was not till last year, when the latter society sent the Rev. A. Chiswell to the capital, and placed him in the midst of their converts, that any collision actually took place. Against this aggression the directors have remonstrated in vain. It would seem that a serious doctrinal difference is the real cause of the aggression. But, in regard to Christian doctrine, the position taken by the directors is plain. Puritans in doctrine and worship, like their fathers; deriving their rule of faith from the simple teaching of the Word of God, the members and supporters of this society have felt it to be their duty to preach that Gospel alone to the heathen nations of the world; and all the success with which their efforts have met has sprung from the Lord's blessing upon that simple message. Whatever Rome and her imitators may say, the friends of this society will cling to that Gospel still.

The next reference is to missionary operations in South Africa. There are twelve brethren in the Bechuana district, and the Moffat Institution has been commenced under the Rev. J. Mackenzie, at Shoshong, with a view to train native evangelists and pastors, of which the mission is in much need. At Kuruman, the native churches, congregations, and schools, have flourished and become strong; and the native teaching power, which the mission has enjoyed, has sprung almost wholly from thence. The Matebele mission in the extreme north has not made much progress; the two central missions among the Bakwena and other tribes is much further advanced; churches have been founded, the congregations are large, and Mr. Price and his colleagues are encouraged. Among the Bamanguato tribe two sons of the chief Sekhome are under Mr. Mackenzie's training, show an excellent Christian example, and have won the universal respect and regard of their own people, and of the neighbouring tribes. Events recently occurred, under which, with the hearty help of Sechele and his Bakwena warriors, the uncle of these young men has been deposed from his office, and Khame, the elder of Sekhome's sons, has been installed in his place. The order with which the whole matter was carried through, shows an immense advance in the spirit and manner in which a professedly heathen tribe can manage a grave crisis like this. With reference to India it was stated that never were proofs more numerous of the influence of missionary work in transforming and regenerating the people. The mighty change in public opinion respecting the Hindu religion can no longer be disputed. Faith in the gods of their fathers, satisfaction in their worship, belief in the later religious books, are rapidly giving way. The reports from Northern India are particularly gratifying. Vernacular preaching and conversation is carried on in a systematic way and with good results. For all parts of India the directors are endeavouring to encourage native agency. In Calcutta and its neighbourhood there are several such earnest workers; and a healthy effort was recently inaugurated in the Mirzapore mission. The educational work of the society in various parts of India is of a high order. The missionary brethren are watchful that both directly and indirectly it shall be truly Christian; and in many ways it is found to exercise a powerful influence in making known the Gospel, especially to the middle classes of the Hindu community. One favourable sign in India is that there is a great diminution of the persecution of converts to Christianity. Greater freedom is allowed by the community; violence is more rarely resorted to; and the profession of Christianity by an intelligent man is no longer deemed to be an unreasonable thing. In the great duty of evangelising India the society is by no means alone, nor does it occupy the highest place. Nearly thirty of the principal missionary societies of Europe and America have stations and labourers there, and the census recently taken shows that in India, Burmah, and Ceylon, the number of these missionaries amounts to over five hundred. A large number of them, some 120, assembled at the General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, and there were also present a number of native brethren of high education and character. The results of the conference were highly valuable and interesting. Indeed the Christian union, co-operation, and harmony existing among missionaries in India are remarkably complete. One result of the conference was an endorsement of the proposal for establishing in India a self-reliant, active native church, and for throwing aside the system of dependence in which the converts were long retained. The report concluded as follows:—

The hoary institutions of Hinduism are crumbling to pieces. Conviction is gaining ground; the gods, and their worship, and their feasts are a habit rather than a faith; a large-hearted humanity is displacing caste; the true incarnation in "the likeness of man," who offered Himself for the sins of the world, is being understood. The Lord is laying a strong grasp on India. With its multitude of people, its jewellery of grace, a crown of rejoicing to England and to Christ's Church, it will become a crown of glory to the Lord who redeemed them as well as us. Nor will India come alone. When with glad heart we see all the great nations of the eastern world quickened by the great stir of life in Christian lands; when we see Japan opening her ports to trade, and inviting the aid of Christian men to improve her laws, reshape her Government, and educate her people; when we see China yielding reluctantly and at last, and permitting other nations to hold intercourse with her on equal terms; when the Shah of Persia comes to see the cities and institutions of Christian Europe; and the Sultan of Turkey, the Caliph of the Mahomedan world, desires a responsible ministry, constitutional law, and religious liberty for the various races of his dominions; when isolation, exclusiveness, ignorance and pride everywhere break down; when the civilised world knocks with a firm hand at the last stronghold of slavery, and demands that the natives of Africa shall no longer be sold, but shall be treated as free men, we cannot but wonder at the enormous results of the earnest zeal, the aggressive life, and teaching, and example of this great missionary age. The mighty love of the Gospel, expanding as the race grows more numerous and spreads more widely, invites them all—the little and the great, barbarian, civilised, bond, and free; it is conquering their vices and superstitions; it is healing all their wrongs; it will not rest till the earth is purified from every stain. Kingdom, and king, and law it brings to every nation under heaven; and soon the acceptable year of the Lord—a new year of perfect life, and love, and peace—shall be proclaimed to all mankind.

"Blow trumpet, for the world is white with May;
Blow trumpet, the long night hath rolled away!
Blow, through the living world, 'LET THE KING REIGN!'"

(Loud and repeated cheers.)

The balance-sheet of the year is as follows:—

RECEIPTS.

1. CONTRIBUTIONS FOR GENERAL PURPOSES—				
a. Subscriptions, Donations, and Collections	£58,230	14	9	
b. Dividends	2,208	6	10	
c. Colonial and Foreign Auxiliaries	1,798	9	9	
d. Legacies	15,859	10	8	
e. Fund for Widows and Orphans and Retired Missionaries	3,959	19	5	
f. Mission Stations, English and Native Contributions, raised and appropriated	20,056	3	0	
g. Ditto, additional from the South Seas, unappropriated	1,341	11	4	
				£103,454 15 9
2. CONTRIBUTIONS AND DIVIDENDS FOR SPECIAL OBJECTS—				
a. For Africa—Moffat Institution	£2,193	14	7	
b. For the Extension of Missions in China	640	5	5	
c. For the Extension of Missions in India	350	0	5	
d. For Madagascar Institution, &c.	4,365	2	3	
e. For South Sea Missions ...	435	2	1	
f. For Missionary Ship ...	3,631	7	6	
				£11,615 12 3
Total Income				£115,070 8 0

EXPENDITURE.

1. Payments by Treasurer in London	£84,720	3	7	
2. Raised and appropriated at the Mission Stations... ...	20,056	3	0	
				£104,776 6 7
3. Balance from last year				1,092 4 6
4. Investments for—				
Madagascar Mission ...	2,800	0	0	
Africa: Moffat Institution	1,800	0	0	
Missionary Ship	2,000	0	0	
Reserve Legacy Fund ...	2,000	0	0	
				8,600 0 0
Balance in favour of the Society ...				601 16 11
				£115,070 8 0

The following missionaries were introduced to the meeting by Dr. Mullens:—Mr. Drummond, who had been engaged in the South Sea Missions thirty-five years; Dr. Mather, missionary in India for forty years; Mr. Coles, from Madras, who went to India in the year 1843; Mr. Halley, from the Loyalty Islands; Mr. Gardner, pastor of a church in Kingston, Jamaica, for twenty-four years; Mr. Baylis, twenty years in South India; Mr. Macfarlane, from the South Seas; Mr. Frederick Turner, from Hong Kong; Mr. Phillips, from South India; Mr. Goode, from South Africa; Mr. Lambert, from India; Mr. Lewis, from South India; Mr. Barker, from Madagascar.

The Rev. Dr. HALLEY then rose to move:—

That the report of which portions have been read be adopted; and that it be circulated among the constituents of the society, with its appendix and statement of accounts. That this meeting has heard with gratitude and pleasure of the activity prevailing in the society's missions, and that the willing liberality of its many friends has amply provided for the service of the year. It specially recognises the progress secured for the native churches in the steady increase in the number of ordained native pastors and missionaries. And it offers devout thanksgiving to God for the protection granted to the native labourers in New Guinea, and for the many openings for usefulness which they have secured among its people.

The speaker referred to the little, dull, gloomy, puritanical meeting-house, with dark pews and dingy galleries, in Haberdashers' Hall, in Steyning-lane, where at the beginning of the century the supporters of that society used to meet, and where a venerable old minister, who used to be called the "fundamental principle" man—(laughter)—always rose at the proper time in the early part of the meeting to read, with the assent and consent of his brother directors, and the approbation of the little meeting, the fundamental principle that that society did not send to the heathen Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, or a few other isms; but the great doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, leaving the heathen who might be converted to choose, as they had a right to choose, such form of church government as might seem to them most in harmony with Holy Scripture, or most appropriate to their religious sensibilities. (Applause.) That was but a small gathering, and then their work was yet to be done. Now what a meeting he saw before him and what a history of sixty years had they to look back upon. He believed that that society and kindred institutions had done a greater work for the promulgation of the Gospel than had been done in any century since the death of the apostles. (Applause.) All this while they had strictly adhered to their fundamental principle, though it had not been recited every anniversary. But he had a more venturesome statement to make. He believed in some important respects, in the seventy-three years that had elapsed of this nineteenth century, a greater work had been done for the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ throughout the world than was done in about the same period, from the resurrection of our Lord to the death of the last surviving apostle. Let them calmly consider the matter.

To what extent was the knowledge of Christ proclaimed

in the first days of the Church? They had the gift of tongues, but what was the gift of tongues for doing a great work compared with the printing press? Your printing press can speak many things and travel over many lands, in languages unknown at the day of Pentecost, and over lands never visited by apostolical travel. Perhaps the greatest work done in this country has been the translation of the Holy Scriptures into almost all the languages on the face of the earth. I cannot tell you into how many languages Holy Scripture has been translated. Eastward, westward, northward, southward, that many-tongued press is speaking to the people the words of everlasting life. Throughout the vast and many-tongued races of India, among the three hundred millions of the Chinese, among the Mahommedan nations, Persians and Turks, throughout Europe, Africa, and America, and those islands that beautifully spot the bosom of the Southern ocean, everywhere the printing press is proclaiming the great doctrines of the Gospel; and men now almost everywhere, if they will only learn to read, can learn the way in which they may obtain everlasting life. Why, how many men speaking those languages with the pentecostal gifts, or how many transcribing from their lips, as slowly they were compelled to write at that time, could possibly have done this work? Why, our press works with the velocity of steam now, and prints off many Bibles in many languages in the course of a few years, and gives permanence to them when words are evanescent, and quickly pass away. And now, may I not say the whole world—the exceptions are few and inconsiderable—can read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. (Applause.) Perhaps the greatest work accomplished in our day has been the translation of Holy Scripture into the Chinese language. May I venture to say that by those versions they had put Holy Scriptures before the eyes, and into the hearts, or within the reach of the majority of the readers on the face of the earth. I do not say the majority of people, but the majority of readers: for when I think of the 300,000,000 of Chinese, all of whom, with very few exceptions, can read the same books—the same characters—however they may pronounce them—by that one act, I believe you have put the Holy Scriptures into the hands of the majority of the readers on the face of the earth. Oh! had your missionaries done nothing else—had the Bible Society done nothing else—there is a work greater than any since the days of the apostles—a greater work than could have ever been done in the days of the apostles—or ever, until the art of printing was discovered.

Dr. Halley then expatiated on the work accomplished of late years—the overthrow of idolatry in the South Seas and Madagascar, the triumphs of the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, the destruction of negro slavery in the West Indies and afterwards in America. Their missionaries had, he believed, been the principal agents in completing this great work,—

Oh! if those venerable men, the fathers and founders of this society, could be present with us to-day, returned to the flesh, what would be their feelings, and emotions of satisfaction and delight, or rather—for they know all about it as well as we do—what their words of congratulation and encouragement! Might I for one moment imagine them present with your first treasurer and chairman, Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., in the chair, and standing near him that venerable form of old Dr Bogue, thinking what wonders had been accomplished since he wrote his letters in the *Evangelical Magazine*, advocating the formation of a society for the conversion of the heathen, amidst some sneers and some unkind reflections from good, pious old Puritan people, who thought it somewhat fanatical. And then Dr. Williams, who nobly came forward and defended him, and sustained the work; Dr. Hawes, the great friend of your South Sea missionaries; Mr. Hare, your earliest secretary; George Bird, who followed him; and Rowland Hill, smiling more than ever; and even Matthew Wilks, smiling too, as he thinks of what has taken place since his day! But that will not satisfy me. I must people this platform with them. They have forgotten sectarian distinctions now. I must have Baptists among Congregationalists, and Arminians, strange as our fathers would think it, amongst Calvinists; and I must speak of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, who laboured so well for the translation of Scripture; of Dr. Scoupe and Mr. Bunting, and other leaders of the Methodist missions; and I cannot forget one whose name has been mentioned this morning. I remember Dr. Chalmers in 1816 preaching in Surrey Chapel the most eloquent sermon I have ever heard, I think, on the self-demonstrating power of the Gospel—a sermon preached for this missionary society—I would have them all here, and what would be their congratulation. But if they cannot be present, as I ventured to suggest—I had almost said as I wished—we have their example. We have, I trust, their spirit; we have the work they did for our encouragement; we have a sense of their approval; we have the same Bible as that which guided them; we have the same Saviour who said to them, still saying to us, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." We will take up their spirit—we will follow their example—we will do their work. Great and effectual doors are open to us that were never open to them—in China, in Japan, in Central Africa, in Turkey, all over Europe, in Rome itself—(loud applause)—in Rome itself; can you believe it?—where the former Pope declared missionaries to be traitors, both to God and man. Venerable men! I think I see you present with us. Venerable men! Your countenance and your works have painted a beautiful picture on the memory of an old man, who loved you, venerated you, observed you in his boyhood. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. W. G. LAWES (missionary from Savage Island) seconded the resolution. That lonely isle, 400 miles from the nearest land, to which Captain Cook gave a descriptive name, was "savage" no longer. The native name is Niue, and is far more euphonic. There no intoxicating drinks were known—it was a Good Templar's paradise. Tattooing also was unknown. Upto 1847 the natives were heathens, superstitious, and degraded, constantly at enmity, and spiritually dead. John Williams, who visited it, narrowly escaped with his life, for the people hated everything foreign.

The first who preached Christ to the people was one of their own natives, who had been away in Samoa. This was in 1847; but he proved an inconsistent man, and we can scarcely say that real Christian work commenced before 1849. Then there landed, in the face of much opposition, and exposed to much danger, a Samoan teacher named Paulo, our Polynesian for Paul, and it was no misnomer, for he was a faithful follower of the great apostle of the Gentiles. He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost. I never knew a man with a deeper trust in God, or a stronger faith in Christ, or a firmer belief in the power of prayer. Many plots were formed for his destruction. Again and again warriors went to the house in which he dwelt, but God restrained them, and Paulo was blessed of God to become the apostle of Savage Island. Before his death he had the happiness of seeing the whole island outwardly Christian, and a large number enrolled as members of the Christian Church. (Applause.) When we landed as their first European missionary, in 1851, we found the whole island, with its 5,000 inhabitants, externally Christian. We found the Sabbath observed, in every village a sanctuary, a good road all round the island, and villagers, who formerly never met save in war and bloodshed, living in the enjoyment of peace and friendly intercourse. The horde of wild boars had become a peaceful Christian community. (Applause.) By what and through whom had this great change been wrought in twelve short years? By the Gospel, the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ, unembellished by art, unadorned by science in the hands of these Samoan teachers. An English schoolboy might have puzzled them on any common subject of every-day knowledge here; but they preached Christ, and what, perhaps, had a greater effect upon the native mind, they lived Christ, and God blessed their work. There had been twelve years of European missionary work, in addition to the twelve years' labour of native teachers, and what was the result?

Heathenism is utterly abolished; the Sabbath is observed. From every Savage Island home there ascends daily the voice of prayer and praise to the one true God. In some cases, perhaps, it may be but a superstitious form, or something approaching it; but we would rather have the form of godliness than the power of heathenism. Out of those who have outwardly embraced Christianity it has been my happiness to baptize, with my own hands, upwards of 1,000 adults, and receive them into the fellowship of the Christian Church. We have now some 1,200—nearly a fourth of the entire population of the island—enrolled as members of the Church, people who knew what they were about in making that profession.

He gave an illustration of the new spirit that prevailed among the islanders:—

The vile Peruvian slavers who visited our island some years ago took away, on one occasion, a large number of young men; and at night a fine youth was brought on shore a corpse, shot through the head by the wretches who had visited the island. The next day was our ordinary service day, and, instead of preaching, we had a prayer-meeting, and I called upon an old man to pray who a few years ago had been the most feared and dreaded warrior on the island. His Christian name was David, and his own son a few weeks previous had been taken. He stood up and prayed, and I shall never forget his prayer. He prayed for those who were sorrowing, whose sons and husbands had been taken away; he prayed for the stolen, that God would be with them; and then he prayed for their vile captors, that God would have mercy upon them, lest they died in their sins. The cruel, bloodthirsty warrior, had become a disciple of Him who prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." (Applause) I have witnessed, too, the triumphant deaths of many who have passed away leaving no doubt upon our minds as to the reality of their conversion.

These people had a great desire to send the Gospel to others, and during the last ten years had contributed an average of £230 per annum for that purpose. The New Testament and Psalms had been translated for them into their own tongue, and then our village churches were now watched over by young men born and brought up in the island, whom it had been his happiness and privilege to fit for this work of the Christian ministry, and they were sustained by their own people with the exception of a very small amount for clothing. They had a training institution for native teachers, and hoped to send some to New Guinea and elsewhere. They have now plenty of European clothing, neat cottages instead of miserable tents, and grew and exported a good deal of cotton. Their government might be best described as patriarchal. The heads of families ruled, but those who were the superior of their fellows, head and shoulders above their generation, came to exercise all the power and the influence of the island. What he had said was more or less true of the 200 Christianised islands in the South Pacific, in which there were 250,000 adherents, 50,000 church-members, and a band of some 1,600 native preachers. The speaker then referred to the Polynesian coolie traffic—a great curse to the South Seas.

The Act which was passed last session for its regulation will do good; the expression of public opinion here in England will do something; but two or three vigorous sharp gunboats will do more, because you must remember that the men with whom we have to do and for the regulation of whose traffic this Act has been passed, are men whose vocabulary does not possess such words as honour, honesty, and truth; and nothing save the said gunboats will really bring them to their senses. (Laughter) There is one feature of the trade which is not generally, perhaps, known to be as full of evil as it is—I mean where they are not taken by force. Out of this small population of 5,000, there are now 390 young men away. Vessels come from all quarters, Fiji, Tahiti, the Sandwich Islands, Queensland, everywhere, in fact, where there are white men making haste to be rich, and want our Polynesians to help to fill their pockets. I have known them taken away with a full knowledge of where they were going, their agreement has been strictly adhered to, they have been kindly treated, and set at liberty at the expiration of their time. I have never known a good result accruing from it. I have known it to be an unmitigated evil, and a greater curse than you can imagine. Those who have been away, and have returned to their island homes, instead of imitating the virtues of civilised society and the superior cultivation of the land, sink to a lower level than those who have not been away; they are worse clothed, they live in worse houses, and their land is worse cultivated than is the case with those who never left the island.

He was about to proceed as a missionary to New Guinea, and he did not doubt the change that had taken place in Niue would take place there also. But they must not be impatient of results, but put trust in their Heavenly Father, and in the power of prayer. Their motto must be "New Guinea for Christ," and He shall reign, and have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. E. H. EVANS, of Carnarvon, supported the resolution in a fervid and eloquent speech, which was received with loud applause.

A hymn was then sung and the collection made, one anonymous donor contributing 300*l*.

The Rev. Dr. MULLENS asked permission to interrupt the ordinary course of proceedings, in order that the chairman might be presented with three new versions of the Scriptures.

The Rev. Mr. DRUMMOND, in presenting the Samoan Bible to the chairman, said: This is the same Bible that the Apostle Paolo took to Savage Island before Mr. Lawe or I visited it. Perhaps you may like to hear how it was translated. During the time when Samoa was well supplied with missionaries, each missionary had a certain portion to translate; and then at their meeting every word was thoroughly canvassed. I have sometimes known three weeks employed in looking over these manuscripts from half-past eight in the morning till half-past eight at night. We had generally with us the best native linguists that we could find to help us in getting a correct notion of the words employed. This is the third edition that has been printed. I am sure Dr. Turner would have been delighted to have presented it himself; but I present it to you, sir, in the name of the directors, hoping that it may remind you of some of the society's labours in that distant island of the Pacific, and praying that God may make this volume a blessing in Samoa as He has done previous issues from the press. The last copy of the last edition was sold long before I left, and the entire value was returned to the British and Foreign Bible Society. (Applause.)

The Rev. GEO. GILL, in presenting the Raratongan edition, said: Forty-seven years ago the first European missicnaries landed in Raratonga; they found there no language formed or written, and they reduced the native tongue to a written form and a grammatical construction. In 1851 the first edition passed through the press; in 1855 the second edition was printed under the care of my brother sitting on my right; and the third edition has been prepared under the care of the Rev. Mr. Crowsey and myself. This is the first edition, with marginal references. A people able to appreciate a Bible with marginal references is sufficiently suggestive. I now beg to present this volume to you. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. MULLENS: On behalf of Dr. Moffat and the directors, I now beg to hand you a copy of the Sechuana Bible. I will only add that in printing and publishing all these contributions to the many versions now current in the world, we have been aided to the last degree by the loving co-operation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN expressed his great gratification at receiving these presents.

The Rev. C. H. SPURGEON then came forward to move the next resolution:—

That this meeting recognises with much thankfulness the encouraging signs afforded during the past year, that the long-continued and patient labours of missionary brethren among the barbarous tribes of South Africa, and the caste-ridden populations of India, are beginning, under God's blessing, to bring forth solid fruit; and it trusts that the changes which are being wrought by the Gospel in the thought and life of the great nations of the world may so rapidly increase as to lead them at an early period openly to embrace the Christian faith. That the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., be the treasurer; that the Rev. Dr. Mullens be the home secretary; and the Rev. Robert Robinson and the Rev. William Fairbrother be joint home secretaries of the society for the ensuing year; that the lists of directors and of the board committee, nominated by the annual meeting of delegates and directors, be approved, and the gentlemen therein named be appointed; and that the board of directors have power to fill up any vacancies that may occur during the year.

In the course of a long speech he enforced in his characteristic fashion the need of courage, zeal, liberality, self-sacrifice, and prayer, in the work of missions. We can only give one or two specimens. He urged young men to aspire to lead forlorn hopes, and to go as pioneers for God and His truth:—

I beseech you, espouse the cause of Christ, and take commission in that part of the service which will exact from you the direst of self-denials, and will demand of you the fullest surrender of all things for Christ. The ruby crown is scarcely within your reach; the martyr time has gone; yet here and there a missionary snatches at the master prize of Christendom; but next to that there are the crowns of poverty, of shame, of reproach, of lonely journeys, of "perils by robbers, and perils by waters"—the mural crowns of those who first scale the walls that are in your way. Is there no Othniel to win such? Have we no brave hearts among us? I say there are such; they only need to be pressed a little, and they will surely come to the front. If the piety of the churches be as it should be, these will surely be found. (Applause.) I believe in the man working for Christ unsuccessfully, but I do not believe in that man's being contented in being unsuccessful. (Applause.) Brethren, you will never win souls if you can live without winning them. Your whole nature

must get big with the sacred passion of conversion. Until you f el ready to die in your work you will never bring men to Christ. Often when I have been preaching and have used the best arguments I can with sinners, I have rammed myself down the gun and fired myself at them, and I have found the last argument tell. If you ask me how I justify that, I reply, Paul says he was willing to communicate not only the Gospel but himself unto them, if he might by any means win them to Christ. The whole Church must get this passion. You must get a longing; you must seethe and boil like a cauldron with the desire to see the nations converted. They won't be converted until you come to this. Do not let any mission report, if it is unfavourable, be put aside with the idea of sovereignty. I am an awful Calvinist. (Laughter.) I believe in sovereignty to the very full; but I never will use the sacred purple of God's sovereignty to cover indolence of His church. (Applause.)

In urging more enthusiasm for missions and not enthusiasm for societies merely, he said—

Ah, brethren! God save you—I am sure He will—I can hardly suppose it possible for you to degrade yourselves to it!—God save you from ever wishing to play the cuckoo—a society that cannot build its own nest, but goes sneaking into another bird's—(laughter)—a society for the propagation of its own glory! (Laughter) There is "honour among thieves"; let it exist among Christian men. I don't believe that Lucifer ever stole away from Beelzebub the honour of a service that he did to the great Prince of Hell. It is a meanness that is beneath devils; and I trust it will never be perpetrated by any member of this society, nor any society under heaven. If any have thought to do it, let them bethink themselves that that which is not manly is not Christian; and let them take their hands back from it. (Loud applause.) We want to have our churches full of an enthusiasm which is grounded, not on a love of sect, but on a love of Jesus Christ.

The Rev. SAMUEL MACFARLANE, missionary from New Guinea, in seconding the resolution, referred to the importance of the work there—the largest and the darkest island in the world, 1,400 miles long and 500 miles wide in some parts, the natives all buried in heathen darkness. At Lifu the Gospel had to encounter not only heathenism, but the intrigues, and bribes, and threats of the Roman Catholic priests. The natives were still true to their Protestantism, true to their God, and Protestantism was never in a better position than it was now in the island of Lifu, whence have gone forth native teachers to New Guinea. They had been there during one year, and if they could stand the climate as they had stood it, they would be able, if they could get right places upon which to locate them, to introduce the Gospel there, until they got the New Guinea men themselves into our institutions, to train them as pioneers to carry the Gospel through the length and breadth of that great island.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, moved by the Rev. J. FLEMING, and seconded by Mr. BROOMFIELD, chairman of the Board of Directors, and the singing of a hymn, brought the proceedings to a close.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of this society was held on Tuesday evening, May 13, at Finsbury Chapel; Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., in the chair. On the platform with him were the Right Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. T. Lea, M.P. for Kidderminster; Mr. John Crosley, Halifax; Revs. Dr. McAuslane, Dr. Angus, J. Morlais Jones, Thain Davidson, W. Statham, J. H. Wilson, W. Grigsby, &c. There was a large attendance of friends interested in the operations of the society. After the singing of a hymn and prayer by the Rev. W. Grigsby, the Chairman (who wished to deny himself the pleasure of speaking on that occasion), called upon the secretary to read the report.

The Rev. J. H. WILSON read a concise and interesting report of the society's operations. From Sussex information had been received of a great revival of religion, and an unprecedented number of conversions. In Cambridgeshire, where the Independents and Baptists unite in working the evangelistic agency, there have been many decided manifestations of good done. The Rev. W. Robinson, secretary of that united agency, says that this evangelistic mission is in a fair way to solve the difficult problem of how the moral wastes of England are to be reclaimed. From some of the districts of Wales there are cheering reports. One mission, after a season of protracted special services, has had twenty-five members added to the fellowship. In Herefordshire, the mission having been deprived of its usual place of meeting through local intimidation, a widow lady opened her own house for preaching; the place was crowded, and several conversions have been wrought. An old man, who had been a determined hater of the Gospel, had sent for the evangelist, and embraced the Gospel. A new chapel, built at Hythe, partly by means of one from this society, is now self-supporting. At Rugby a mission-hall has expanded into a church, with 100 members, which next year expects to be self-sustaining, while the chapel is already free from debt. At New Brompton, an increasing suburb of Chatham, a mission church has been formed, a chapel built, and a congregation raised. The Home Mission pastorates are all grouped stations—including several villages around a common centre—and are worked by a pastor and evangelist, with all the available voluntary service of the churches thus united. From Norfolk there is gratifying intelligence of the financial advantages resulting from the adoption of the weekly offering in stations thus grouped. Not a few self-sustaining churches are now employing evangelists, some of them wholly at the own expense:—

"The combined strength of all these spiritual forces," said the report, "consists of 130 home mission pastors and 90 lay evangelists, whose labours are supplemented and greatly aided by 270 voluntary lay preachers, and 2,400 Sunday-school teachers and Christian visitors, whose work is carried on among 1,000 villages and hamlets in England and Wales. The mission churches occupy 543 chapels and mission-rooms, where the attendance averages 50,000 people, of whom 8,000 are associated in the bonds of Christian fellowship, 800 new members having been added during the year. Besides the regular pastorates, the colporteur agency last year distributed 350,000 tracts, sold 1,800 copies of the Scriptures, and 12,000 periodicals; the tracts being all gratuitously supplied by the committee of the Religious Tract Society, London, and Mr. Henry Bewley, of Dublin, and Mr. Peter Drummond, of Stirling. All this work is carried on under the superintendence of county associations, with whom the society continues to enjoy the most cordial and practical co-operation.

Three associations in Yorkshire have been consolidated as the Yorkshire Congregational Union, and that union has undertaken the exclusive support of eighteen stations, formerly aided by this society. The committee name among the hindrances to the work, ignorance, infidelity, intemperance, and superstition; besides which, they were now, more than ever, opposed by a semi-Popery which, in the name of Protestantism, was coming in like a flood, and could only be effectually met by raising the standard of the Gospel against it. Largely through an appeal by the treasurer (Mr. S. Morley), and a conference held on his invitation, the committee had now the prospect of being enabled to maintain the ninety evangelists at present in the field, but earnestly desired to increase that number to 100; to assist in which endeavour, the committee earnestly appeal to the churches.

The financial statement was then read, which showed that the receipts during the year had been, including a balance of 579*l.* 10s. 10d. in hand, 6,483*l.* 16s. 10d., and the expenditure 5,576*l.* 17s. 7d., leaving in hand the sum of 906*l.* 19s. 3d.—which it was intimated would be fully absorbed by the next quarter's payments.

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY, who was received with hearty and continued applause, said he was glad to join them in thanking God for the manner in which He has blessed this mission, and the great evangelical efforts it was making in all parts of the country. He liked it because it had essentially an aggressive character. The time had passed for them to sit still. They must be no longer in starch and buckram—they had been in them too long; and in the meanwhile what enormous advances had been made upon their strongholds! They must recover these. (Cheers.) They must have the militia of working men on their side. There were men among the working men—aye, and women too—(cheers)—full of the knowledge of Scripture, and with a profound love of it, gifted by God with singular talents of thought and speech, and a power of conveying to their fellows the thoughts of their own hearts—a power which was seldom found among the polished and learned. The other night they had a large tea-meeting of those who had assisted them in special services; some hundreds of the men and their wives and daughters, and they called upon the different parties to give the results. A number of working men came forward to state the effect of the services upon their minds. These services had induced them to think a little more seriously about the state of their souls, and they conversed with their fellows, and it was this which struck the nail upon the head and drove it quite home. Some described the manner in which, in conversation with the working people, they themselves had derived that benefit they wished to impart to others. That was, he believed, the only way in which it could be done. If they only had a large militia of men of this kind, and sent them out into all the recesses where human life was found in the greatest degradation, bearing with them the word of life and the knowledge of God, he believed they would reap such a harvest as that spacious chapel would not be able to contain. (Cheers.) Their difficulties were many, arising sometimes from infidelity, sometimes from apathy, sometimes from the increase of Romanism, promoted by the man-milliners of his Church, who had not, however, made much progress among working men, though they had amongst those above them. Difficulties—political, civil, moral, social, and religious—were increasing every day. Men of the most powerful intellects and the most subtle thoughts were engaged in circulating the most awful forms of infidelity, and so insidiously as to spread like wildfire among the skilled artisans. Only by God's help could they be banished. He hoped, therefore, they of this mission would go forward. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. M'AUSLANE, in seconding the resolution, complimented the secretary on the excellence of his report, and referred to the comparatively limited income. It was over 6,000*l.* this year, and in all they might say 30,000*l.* were raised for home missionary work. But when he contrasted that sum with the growing wealth of the country, it was small. Contrast that sum with the amounts given for work abroad; these amounts were not too large, but that was not in proportion. What was the society producing? Its home missionary pastors, its lay evangelists, its voluntary preachers and Sunday-school teachers were all doing three things—expounding the truths of God in their own way; their lives among the multitudes constituted a practical, beautiful, and powerful commendation of the truth; and their prayers had been countless in their number that had gone up to the Throne of Grace for success in this work.

The Rev. J. M. JONES, of Lewisham, supported the resolution. He had been requested to speak a few words in the name of the Principality, which he rejoiced to find in this report not treated as another land, but included under the term "home." Voluntaryism created by a passionate love for Jesus Christ had been the means of evangelising Wales, which owed very little to the parochial system. If the parochial system had done its duty, the existence of the Home Missionary Society would have been an impertinence; but the parish churches have answered much the same purposes as were served by our ancient castles—levying black mail, and adding a little to the picturesqueness of the scenery. (Laughter.) The free churches had grown in strength by the evident incompetence of official Christianity to satisfy the wants of the people. It had been said that religion had not much affected their national life. Had it not been for the religion taught in these chapels, they would hardly have witnessed such an abstinence from crime as characterised that strike; 70,000 persons out of employ, and not a single case of theft, or riot, or any mischief. Welsh mothers thought it honourable when their sons devoted themselves to the ministry; but he feared in some Nonconformist families this would be regarded as a misfortune. He hoped they would guard against giving countenance to such an idea.

The Rev. W. M. STATHAM moved the second resolution:—

That, while thankfully acknowledging the Divine goodness, as seen in the amount of good done by the agency of the Home Missionary Society during the past year, this meeting has still to deplore a sad amount of spiritual destitution in the rural districts of England.

It might be quite true all that Mr. Jones had said about the noble conduct of the Merthyr miners during the strike; but if so, they were not to shut their eyes to the fact that the English working classes stood, to a great extent, outside their churches, not because they were so much intellectual infidels—(Hear, hear)—but because they were so largely going in for Alhambraism, ballet-girlism, and liquorism. It was lamentable to see, night after night, trains so arranged as to take up the youth of small towns and villages to great towns and cities for evening indulgences, and then giving them opportunities to return late at night. (Cheers.) We hear a great deal just now about what amusements we ought to take. It seemed as though we were all amazingly alive to the need of recreation, the fact being that there was little cause to dread asceticism just now. When their prayer-meetings were crowded, and their own spiritual life quickened, then might come the fitting opportunity to talk about how best to amuse themselves; the first question now, was how to make the recreative faculty wait upon the religious faculty. (Loud cheers.) The labours of the Home Missionary Society were wanted now more than ever, especially in the presence of neo-Catholicism. Popery, in fact—(cheers)—is spreading all over the land. The Home Missionary Society must do brave battle against this determined host of Catholic neophytes who wish to drag the nation back three hundred years to the detestable days of priestly supremacy. Might God, in His great mercy, evermore deliver them from priests! (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. THAIN DAVIDSON, in seconding the resolution, said that from returns which he had seen from all parts of England, in connection with the denomination to which he belonged, the English Presbyterians, he could confirm the language of the report, that in no former years have we had higher results than in the twelvemonth past. (Cheers.) There was an increasing conviction taking hold of Christian churches, that every congregation must be a centre of evangelistic powers. He believed that the greatest evils which we had to dread in this country are Romanism and Parisianism; for if the one hails from Rome, the other hails from Paris; if the one has sprung up on the banks of the Tiber, the other seems indigenous to the banks of the Seine. In this connection, how prophetic seemed the quaint words of George Herbert, written two hundred and fifty years ago!—

> Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand:
> When Seine shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames,
> By letting in them both, pollute her streams;
> Then shall religion to America flee—
> They have their times of Gospel, even as we.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the annual parcel of farthings which one friend had been in the habit of transmitting to the funds of the society, this year amounted to the sum of 2*l.* 15s. 2d. (Cheers.)

Mr. THOMAS LEA, M.P. for Kidderminster, in a brief address, expressed his gratification with the report and speeches.

The Rev. Dr. ANGUS, president of Regent's Park College, proposed the third resolution:—

That the agency of the Home Missionary Society being well adapted to meet the spiritual wants of our village population, this meeting would earnestly appeal for increased support, prayerful sympathy, and practical co-operation.

He was not present as the representative of another body, but as one of themselves. In six counties Baptists and Pædobaptists combine in Evangelistic efforts; and wherever Christianity was preached in simplicity, and Christian churches were regarded as congregations of believing men, there he claimed to have an interest. With the increased wealth of this country, while Christians are contributing only one million a year—not a penny in the pound of the

nation's income—to the cause of missions, the world would not be likely to realise the conviction that they were in earnest.

Mr. JOHN CROSSLEY, of Halifax, briefly seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN, in reference to Mr. Statham's speech, said he was of opinion that large numbers of working men were amenable to kindly and respectful influences. They utterly repudiated dogmatism in opposition to the views which they held, and from which many of them widely dissented; but they would listen to suggestions that they should rise up to a sense of the responsibility of the undoubted power they had obtained, and that they should act the part of Christian patriots. We, at least, said Mr. Morley, equal to any denomination, have access to them if we choose to take the right way. There were twenty millions very directly connected with labour, and they were a power for evil or for good. He would appeal to every one, from whatever part of the country, to seek to avail themselves of all opportunities for a kindly word of sympathy with their condition. In the course of the next election there would be a proof of the power they might wield, and it was desirable to impress on the minds especially of their leaders a sense of the responsibility of the position which they occupied. If they could gain their confidence they might preach the Gospel to them, and produce that higher influence which should be their ultimate aim. (Applause.)

The meeting was then brought to a close with the doxology.

THE DIVISION ON MR. MIALL'S MOTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The supporters of Mr. Miall's motion are entitled to some information respecting the manœuvre by which its opponents contrived to secure what they designate the "crushing defeat" of the disestablishment party.

In the last two sessions the motion submitted by Mr. Miall has been debated at length, and the speakers on both sides have been heard with attention. This session, however, it was resolved by the upholders of establishments to adopt a different line of tactics, and to suppress discussion in Parliament, as it has lately been suppressed in many cases out of it. Just before the debate commenced, it became known that Mr. Miall and his seconder, together with Mr. Gladstone, were to be quietly heard, and that everybody else was to be shouted down, with a view to forcing an immediate division. And this brief programme was, substantially, adhered to, and, as has been seen, with complete success. There was, indeed, a disposition to cut short Mr. McLaren, and Mr. Harcourt was partially heard, because he was on the side of the Opposition. Even he, however, received a hint not to stand in the way of a division, which he precipitated by an abrupt conclusion of his speech.

Of course, those who were in the secret were there in full force, ready to vote; while many of the supporters of the motion were temporarily absent from the House, or arrived later in the evening, when they expected that the division would take place. I subjoin the names of those who paired for the motion, together with a list of members who, as I am informed, would have voted for the motion at a later hour. This second list, however, does not profess to be complete.

Adding together the votes, the pairs, and the accidental absences, instead of Mr. Miall's supporters having been reduced by one-third, the minimum number may be reckoned at 95, which is but one fewer than in 1871, and but four fewer than in 1872.

As the motion of last year was limited to inquiry into the amount and application of Church property, it was supported by several members who did not vote for the motion of 1871, and were not expected to vote for that of this year. The true standard of comparison, therefore, is the division of 1871, when eighteen more members voted against Mr. Miall than voted on Friday last.

These facts show that the congratulations of Conservative journalists on Mr. Miall's "beggarly following" are somewhat hasty; just as it will soon be seen that, whatever mischief has been done to the Liberation cause, it has not been "ruinous." I remember that the defeat of 1871 was described as "crushing," as was also that of last year. So also the Church Rate abolitionists and the University Test abolitionists were, at particular crises in the history of those questions, supposed to have been finally vanquished by hostile majorities in Parliament; but their triumph, though delayed, came at length, and I suspect that many of those who have gone against disestablishment now know well enough that the time will come when their votes will have to be given on the other side.

Your obedient servant,
J. CARVELL WILLIAMS.

Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street,
May 20, 1873.

P.S.—Since the above letter was written, a letter from Mr. Miall has appeared in the *Times*, in which it is stated that 31 members paired for the motion; but to avoid all question, I have thought it best to take only the 29 names contained in the Pair-list published in the *Times* and other journals.

Paired for Mr. Miall's Motion:—Mr. A. H. Brown, Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Mundella, Sir J. Lawrence, Major Beaumont, Mr. Seely (Lincoln), Mr. Norwood, Mr. Stevenson, Sir H. Hoare, Mr. Dalglish, Mr. Pease, Sir J. Goldsmid, Mr. M'Arthur, Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Roden, Mr. Colman, Mr. Morley, Mr. Leeman, Mr. Buckley, Mr. Heron, Mr. Parry, Mr. Callan, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, Mr. McClure, Mr. Muntz, Mr. R. Shaw, Mr. Brogden, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Mr. Onslow. Total, 29.

Prevented voting by Early Division:—Mr. G. O. Morgan, Mr. Carter, Mr. Delahunty, Mr. R. Shaw. Total, 3.

WHAT NEXT?

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—You will not be surprised to hear that some disappointment is felt at the debate and division of Friday last. It excites some amazement that your speech on what I may call the principles of our case, was not followed up by others denouncing unsparingly the state of the Establishment at the present time. Dissenters throughout the land must, I think, feel that we were not fairly represented in the debate. As to the division, perhaps a vote of about sixty members in support of proposals so radical as yours may not be deemed wholly discouraging; but the reluctance of the House to listen to our case, and the resolute hostility of a large number of the party called Liberal, force on us the consideration of our future movements. As suggested by you, we have not broken down park-palings, nor attempted to blow up prison-walls; neither do we intend to have recourse to violence; but I submit that we must now seriously inquire whether it be not incumbent on us at the next election resolutely to stand aloof from Mr. Forster and the party which discarded us last Friday. The result, I suppose, would be the breaking up of the party, which would be no great loss to us. We should then have to bide our time, waiting till a really Liberal party were formed with "Religious Equality" for its watchword. The ultimate issue is certain, as every one knows.

Might it not be wise—and this question is the point of my letter—for the Liberation Society forthwith to summon a convention of delegates from all parts of the kingdom, to deliberate on the course which Nonconformists shall hereafter pursue?

I am, yours truly,
W. ROBINSON.

Cambridge, May 19, 1873.

[Our esteemed correspondent will find elsewhere abundant explanation of the reasons why Mr. Miall was not supported in the debate.—ED. NONCONFORMIST.]

THE LIST OF PAIRS.

The following is the list of the pairs as given in Tuesday's daily papers:—

FOR.	AGAINST.
Mr. A. H. Brown.	Mr. Brand.
Mr. J. B. Smith.	Sir C. Child.
Mr. Mundella.	Mr. Osborne.
Sir J. C. Lawrence.	Mr. R. Bright.
Mr. Hermon.	Mr. S. Knox.
Mr. Seely.	Mr. H. James.
Mr. Norwood.	Sir J. Stronge.
Mr. Onslow.	Mr. Lee Steere.
Major Beaumont.	Mr. Hurst.
Mr. Stevenson.	Major Dickson.
Sir H. Hoare.	Major Archdall.
Mr. Dalglish.	Sir R. Torrens.
Mr. Roden.	Mr. R. Paget.
Mr. Pease.	Mr. Bowring.
Sir F. Goldsmid.	Sir E. M. Buller.]
Mr. M'Arthur.	Mr. Goschen.
Mr. Coleman.	Lord Newry.
Mr. Morley.	Mr. Ridley.
Mr. Leeman.	Mr. Bourke.
Mr. Gilpin.	Sir D. Salomons.
Mr. Buckley.	Mr. Harvey Lewis.
Mr. R. Shaw.	Mr. Charley.
Mr. Jones Parry.	Sir E. Antrobus.
Mr. Brogden.	Mr. S. Lefevre.
Mr. Callan.	Mr. Vance.
Mr. J. W. Barclay.'	Sir H. Williamson.
Lord E. Fitzmaurice.	Sir P. Burrell.
Mr. M'Clure.	Mr. T. Baring.
Mr. Muntz.	Mr. J. Fielden.

The Vienna *Presse* publishes a telegram from Rome, which says that although the Pope has sufficiently recovered to receive deputations, he is not yet able to say mass. The physicians are of opinion that, in consequence of the nervous suffering in his hips, His Holiness will be henceforth compelled to use a stick in walking.

Epitome of News.

The Queen and Court are now at Balmoral, and a snowstorm on Sunday kept Her Majesty within doors.

The King of the Belgians has returned from England, and gone to Vienna.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has been appointed special representative of the British Government to receive and attend upon the Shah of Persia.

The Prince of Wales on Monday visited the Art Department of the Exhibition at Vienna. On Thursday evening he leaves Vienna, and after spending two days at Darmstadt with the Prince and Princess of Hesse, will return to England by way of Paris on the 27th.

Earl Russell intends to lay on the table of the House of Lords, on June 9, a bill for the better government of Ireland.

The late Mr. J. Stuart Mill has left a full autobiography, with directions that it shall be published without delay. He has also left treatises on "Nature," "Theism," and the "Utility of Religion," the first of which was to have been published in the present year. Arrangements will now be made for their speedy appearance.

Mr. Bruce received a numerous and influential deputation on Satu day, who urged the necessity and importance of giving the metropolis a uniform system of municipal government. The right hon. gentleman stated that the Ministry had not taken the question in hand up to the present, because they considered that, whenever an attempt at legislation respecting it was made, it should form the leading measure of any session during which it was introduced. While declining to promise that the Cabinet would adopt this as the principal subject for consideration next session, Mr. Bruce added that he did not know of any measure of much greater importance in the political perspective.

A telegram has been received at the Foreign Office, announcing the arrival, at Gondokoro, of the reinforcements sent to Sir Samuel Baker, and confirming the private intelligence previously received of the safety of the party.

Mr. Ward's fine gallery picture, representing young Luther when a monk, in the convent at Erfurt, first reading for himself the ancient Bible in the library, and thus discovering the true and all-important value of the Holy Scriptures, is the subject of a very interesting undertaking. The picture is to be purchased by public subscription and presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, to be placed in the library of the new house of the society, as an appropriate memorial of a leading event in the history of the Bible.

It is stated that the scrutiny of the votes recorded at the late Tyrone election shows a majority of two for Mr. Macartney, the defeated candidate.

Wednesday was the annual presentation-day at the University of London; Earl Granville, as Chancellor, presiding. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the representative of the University in Paliament, in the course of his address, insisted upon the right of women to be permitted to distinguish themselves in the highest branches of education. He regretted that they could not at present measure their intellectual capacities in the full curriculum of the University; nor could he understand why they should be prevented doing so.

Fifeshire was visited by a heavy snowstorm on Friday and Saturday, and in the vicinity of the Lomond Hills the depth of fall varied from four to six inches. The Lomond Hills were covered with snow.

The *Athenæum* regrets to hear that Dr. von Tischendorf is suffering from a paralytic seizure.

The *Law Times* understands that the judges facilitated the entrance of Mr. Edwin James into the "lower branch" of the profession—although holding him to be properly disbarred by the benchers of his inn—by making an order relieving him from the necessity of passing the preliminary examination.

On Saturday the Bank of England Directors raised the rate of discount to 6 per cent.

Mr. Fawcett has given notice that on an early day after the Whitsuntide recess he should move for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the best mode of redressing the present inequalities in the distribution of political power, with a view to secure a more complete representation of the people.

Mr. Dixon will ask the Vice-President of the Council to-morrow whether he can now inform the House when the Elementary Education Act Amendment Bill will be introduced.

In London on Monday night eight degrees of frost were registered.

The *Record* expresses great satisfaction at having learned that Earl Russell has asked to be released from his promise to lay the foundation stone of Mr. Newman Hall's church, on the ground of his age and the distance at which he resides from the spot.

The Ashantee war appears to be growing in its proportions. News arrived on Monday by the Royal Mail steamer Loanda that a battle was fought on April 18 between the Ashantees and the Fantees, and that the latter retreated towards the coast. The Ashantees had suffered severely from losses in battle as well as from smallpox. They were, however, pressing on Elmina in great force, where they were to be joined by Atchampton, an Ashantee chief, with 10,000 men. The Fantees were flocking into Cape Coast in great numbers.

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The *Nonconformist* of WEDNESDAY, MAY 14th, with gratis Supplement, contains Reports of the following Anniversaries:—Congregational Union, Bible Society, Religious Tract Society, Sunday School Union, British and Foreign School Society, &c.

The *Nonconformist* of WEDNESDAY, MAY 21st, with gratis Supplement of eight pages, contains Reports of the following Anniversaries:—Congregational Union (adjourned meeting), London Missionary Society, Peace Society, &c. A full report is also given of the debate in the House of Commons on Mr Miall's Disestablishment motion.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received one or two letters relative to our article on "The Alliance Tactics," but cannot insert anything on the subject this week.

We have also received a letter from the secretary of the Gateshead branch of the Church Defence Institution, in reply to the revised table of our Enumerator, which we must likewise hold over owing to the demands on our space.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1873.

SUMMARY.

THE Prime Minister has enacted several parts in the House of Commons during the week. On Wednesday he appeared as the uncompromising opponent of Mr. Cowper Temple's Occasional Sermons Bill, which proposed to remove the restrictions that prevent the authorities of the Church of England from allowing persons other than ordained clergymen to occupy the pulpits, though not to take part in the stated services, of the Church. So vigorously did Mr. Gladstone denounce the policy of asking Parliament to legislate for the Parliamentary Church that Mr. Cowper Temple's bill was swept away—only 53 against 199 members giving it their support. On Friday the Premier not only defended the State-Church with passionate earnestness, but by his summary tactics was the indirect means of shutting up the debate. Last night Mr. Gladstone was the champion of the due observance by the House of Commons of Ascension Day, as he had previously been of Ash Wednesday. Of course he carried his point, though Mr. Bouverie urged with reason that to be consistent the House should march to church preceded by Lord Charles Russell and the mace.

The expected O'Keefe crisis came to nothing. When Lord Hartington on Thursday moved for a select committee to inquire into the action of the Irish National Education Board relative to the Callan schools, Mr. Bouverie moved as an amendment that the House, having partly before it, and having partly ordered to be laid before it, all the papers relating to the matter, "doth pass to the orders of the day." The plea that the board should not be condemned unheard seemed to have some weight with the House. Neither side mustered for a great party conflict, and eventually the Irish Secretary's motion was carried by 159 to 131 votes. Probably it will be shown that the board in dealing with Mr. O'Keefe has only followed precedent. The trial before the Irish Court of Queen's Bench is still proceeding, and much interest was created by the appearance of Cardinal Cullen in the witness-box—the first time we believe a Roman cardinal has occupied such a position. His eminence stated that he had express authority from the Pope to deal with Mr. O'Keefe, and that that authority gave him power to punish or absolve the plaintiff as he thought fit. Mr. O'Keefe's counsel contends that he has been dealt with not only in violation of the canon law of the Romish Church as interpreted among the Catholics of Ireland, but also in opposition to natural justice and fair play; while the cardinal's advocate maintains that Mr. O'Keefe's conduct has been scandalous, and that he was in fact a "pestilential fiery dragon." It may be doubted whether the jury will be able to agree upon any verdict, but the summing up of the presiding judges in explanation of the law will be looked forward to with great interest.

We give elsewhere a report of the fifty-seventh anniversary meeting of the Peace Society. The report, read by Mr. Richard, M.P., described the progress of opinion in this country in favour of international arbitration, and representatives from France, Spain, and the United States were present cordially to endorse that philanthropic policy. One of the resolutions adopted by the meeting expressed especial satisfaction "at the success of the tribunal of Geneva, not only because it has finally disposed of a question that was full of danger to the peace of these two kindred and Christian nations, but because they confidently hope, in the words of the Prime Minister, that 'it has established an example which will be fruitful of benefit to other nations.'" A second resolution heartily approved of the motion of which the hon. member for Merthyr has given notice, in favour of "a general and permanent system of international arbitration"—a proposal which will be brought forward with the avowed sympathy of many dignitaries of the Church of England, and of the representative bodies of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Calvinistic Methodists, and other religious communities.

We have commented below on the grave crisis which has arisen at Versailles. On Friday the conflict between the Republicans and Monarchists will commence in earnest. There was a trial of strength between them yesterday, when M. Buffet was re-elected President of the National Assembly by a majority of seventy votes (359 to 289). over M. Martel, the Government candidate, and M. Goulard was chosen as one of the Vice-Presidents; which incidents are regarded as showing that there is a strict union between the Orleanists, Legitimists, and Bonapartists against which the Left will have to contend on Friday. The interpellation then to be submitted, has been signed by 321 members; and this number, if it can be regarded as constituting the full strength of the Monarchists, might give Ministers a small majority. If the balance inclines the other way, the vote would be fatal not only to the Government, but to M. Thiers himself, whom the Right seem to have made up their mind to oust, and replace by the Duc d'Aumale or a Parliamentary Executive Committee. These are very daring tactics, in face of the recent elections, and the elaborate constitutional bills which the President has prepared for consolidating a Conservative Republic. M. Thiers will on Friday next confront in person the reactionists, and insist on the proclamation of the Republic as a vital necessity. France is in a state of feverish excitement as to the issue of this serious struggle, and Marshal MacMahon, the head of the army, by ostentatiously calling on the President yesterday, is thought to have shown that he is no party to the plot.

The irreconcileable Federal Republicans of Spain profess great dissatisfaction with the issue of the recent elections, and a belief that the new constituent assembly will not further their views. Even in Catalonia their candidates have failed; so averse are the people in Spain to a revolutionary as distinguished from a reforming policy. But for their accumulating financial difficulties, the Government might be able to manage matters satisfactorily. Mr. Bradlaugh has been at Madrid to congratulate and patronise the Government, but his visit does not seem to have brightened their prospects.

The other foreign news of the week demands more space than we can afford to give to it. The reported capture of Khiva is authoritatively denied; indeed the Russian expedition has apparently some tough work before it, ere the Czar's standard floats over the forts of that city.—The Emperor William, after having signed the anti-clerical bills, has closed the Prussian Diet, and His Majesty expresses a hope that those measures "will promote concord amongst the various confessions, and lead the Church to devote its strength solely to the pure service of God's word."—The Shah of Persia has reached Moscow, but has brought with him neither his harem nor countless treasures to lavish on the capitals of Europe.—Great gloom has been cast over the Vienna Exhibition by the numerous and heavy failures of joint-stock speculators. But the worst is now over, and the commercial atmosphere has been cleared by this monetary crisis.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ONCE more France is on the eve of what would seem to be a desperate political crisis, and once more the so-called Party of Order have initiated it. The National Assembly at Versailles met on Monday last for the first time since the vacation. The number of members present at the sitting was large, and the excitement which prevailed in the Assembly was intense. The routine business of the House had hardly been got through before the President, M. Buffet, read an interpellation, emanating from the Right Centre, the purport of which can hardly be taken in any other sense than a declaration of open war against M. Thiers and his Government. It runs thus—"Considering that the gravity of the political situation requires at the head of affairs a Cabinet whose firmness would reassure the country, the undersigned members ask leave to question the Ministry respecting the modifications which have just arisen in its midst, and the necessity of rendering a resolutely Conservative policy predominant in the Government of the country. They request that Friday be fixed for the discussion of this interpellation." The decision of the Assembly as to the day on which the discussion should take place was, after some consultation with M. Buffet, deferred till the morrow, and our readers will probably learn from the telegrams of the day the precise date fixed upon for the commencement of this new conflict of words and passions.

It seems to have arisen out of the recent reconstruction of his Cabinet by M. Thiers M de Goulard, the Minister of the Interior, suspected of being a Monarchist in disguise, had chosen to take offence at a speech made by M. Jules Simon, in which he accredited the President of the Republic with liberating the territory of France, and paying the war indemnity, in the face of those members of the Assembly who hampered him in his patriotic efforts, and who afterwards claimed a share of the honour due to his success. M. Thiers, finding that he must modify, to some extent, the policy of compromise which he has hitherto adopted, and impressed by the recent elections, and especially by that of M. Barodet for Paris, with the necessity of making his Government a homogeneous one on the basis of retaining and giving permanence to a Republican form of Government, requested his Ministry to give in their resignation as a body, and subsequently reappointed them, substituting M. Casimir-Perier for M. de Goulard as Minister of the Interior, and M. Waddington for M. Jules Simon as Minister of Public Instruction.

This reconstruction of the Cabinet, and more particularly the exclusion from it of M. de Goulard, was interpreted, and rightly so, as indicating a change of policy on the part of the President of the Republic, hostile to the wishes and intentions of the Monarchical party. The members of the Right, consequently, held a meeting, and resolved to anticipate M. Thiers by an aggressive movement. Hence the interpellation, of which we have given the exact words, and hence the determination of the Assembly to discuss it before taking into consideration the bills presented by M. Dufaure for regulating the transmission of the Executive Power, and for the creation of a Second Chamber. The immediate question at issue, therefore, however it may be veiled behind conventional terminology, is whether M. Thiers is to remain Head of the French Republic, or whether he is to be ousted—in other words, whether the Republic shall continue, or shall be prematurely set aside to make way for a Monarchy. The event is regarded as doubtful; but M. Thiers has so frequently parried the most vigorous blows of his opponents, that one is disposed to anticipate that he may once more, and, we trust finally, secure the safety and permanence of the present French Republic.

The Monarchical party, whether in France or in Spain, has never distinguished itself by that self-restraint which alone might be able to achieve the object of their policy. A spirit of wisdom has never been vouchsafed to it. A sentiment of patriotism has never given tone to its counsels. Whether it be right or wrong in the theory of Government which it has espoused, the course of action which it has taken to reduce that theory to practice has been invariably prompted by passion and fanaticism rather than by sagacity and reason. It is now again steering confidently for the rock upon which the frail bark which carries the interests of France, as well as the possible ultimate predominance of its own ideas, will be shivered to pieces. Whether the members of the Right succeed or fail in the contest they have just provoked, the result will be practically disastrous for themselves and for their cause. Should they obtain a majority, and thus force upon M. Thiers the necessity of vacating his post before the last instalments of the war indemnity, now in course of liquidation, shall have been paid, and therefore before the soil of France shall have been delivered from occupation by the Germans, it is impossible to foresee the state of chaos into which the French nation will be precipitated. For the present, it is quiet and content. It dreads any further revolution, whether in the interests of Monarchy or of Democracy. It will, probably, fare badly with either of the factions who persist in the attempt to establish their respective nostrums at the expense of the slowly-recovering prosperity of the country. The least evil to be feared in the case is an immediate *coup d'état*, which M. Thiers has striven his hardest to avoid, but which might be forced upon him by popular indignation, eventuating in an immediate dissolution of the Assembly, and a premature appeal to the decision of Universal Suffrage. Should the Right fail in securing a majority in support of their interpellation, they will have made M. Thiers more than ever master of the situation, and then farewell to their hopes of reconstituting a Monarchy in the place of the existing Conservative Republic. No doubt, France might, in the end, adapt herself to either form of Government; but neither for the one nor the other is she prepared to sacrifice present tranquillity for general tumult, revolutionary violence, or peradventure, civil war.

THE LORDS AND THE BIRMINGHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

MR. SCHNADHORST, in the evidence which he recently gave before the Endowed Schools Committee, adduced as an illustration of old trusts that needed reform, the case of King Edward's School at Birmingham. Here is a great institution with great revenues, founded for the benefit of the whole town, and from the time of its foundation to the present time, it has been under the exclusive management of members of the Established Church. At the time that it was founded there was no alternative, and no alternative was anticipated. Neither King Edward himself, nor the Protector Somerset nor any of his advisers, could have anticipated the Birmingham of the nineteenth century, in which, both morally and numerically, Protestant Nonconformity would be predominant, any more than they could have anticipated the Birmingham of the nineteenth century in respect to its arts, its manufactures, its literature, and its wealth. It happens, therefore, that King Edward's School is not, and was not, tied down to a particular sect, although there is a clause in the charter relating to the authority of the bishop of the diocese respecting any alterations in the statutes. Still, from that time to this, the governing body of King Edward's School has been of an exclusively Church of England character. It is, besides, so out of harmony with the spirit of the times, that it is altogether self-elected.

Now, amongst the schools which have come under the observation of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, this Birmingham School is one. They had authority to deal with it, and they proceeded to deal with it in a manner consonant to modern thought, and recognising something like popular rights. We do not know whether it was the case, but it seems to us that the Commissioners asked themselves what sort of a constitution such a school would be likely to have had given to it, supposing it to have been founded for the benefit of the whole population of Birmingham in this present nineteenth century. At any rate, such a constitution they drew up. They proposed to change the governing body from a self-elective one to one of twenty-one members, eight to be appointed by the Town Council, four by the School Board, one by the teacher of the foundation, and eight to be elected or "co-opted" by their fellow-governors. What could be the reasonable objection, substantially, to such a scheme? Why should any party be afraid of it? Well, there are replies to these questions, and they are, that it destroys the exclusively Church character of the present governing body, and that, looking at the state of parties at Birmingham, it is anticipated that, in the course of time, Churchmen may even be placed in a minority on the governing board. The broad objection, in fact, is that the "dead hand" ought still to continue to rule the living generation, and that it is sufficient for an abuse to be old, for it, on that account alone, to be continued.

The Marquis of Salisbury, in moving, in the House of Lords, on Monday evening, an address to the Crown against the assent of Her Majesty to the proposed scheme, was not at all careful—he seldom is—to conceal the reasons of his action. He was blunt almost to excess. He maintained that the school was a Church of England school—that now and in future, as heretofore, the governing body should be one of Churchmen, that the head-masters, and assistants, and all others, should still continue to be clergymen or members of the Church, that all the boys should still be well grounded in the doctrines and principles of the Church, and, in fact, that there should be no alteration whatever in the present state of things—Birmingham, and, no doubt, all the people of Birmingham, notwithstanding. To carry out the marquis' principles, in fact, the present constitution of the school would be forced upon Birmingham, even if the governors were the only members of the Established Church left in the place. It is like the old argument that the Church exists for the sake of the clergy. So schools must exist, not for the sake of the scholars or the people, but the masters and the governors.

We have said that Lord Salisbury was blunt, and bluntness is generally accompanied by obstinacy. Lord Ducie gave the Lords the opportunity of taking a medium course between the rejection and the acceptance of the scheme of the Endowed Schools Commission, which embodied a modification of the scheme; but, as our readers know, after a debate, in which Lord Lyttelton spoke bravely not only for the scheme itself, but, what is far more important, for the principle upon which it was founded, Lord Ducie's amendment was rejected by 60 to 106, and Lord Salisbury's resolution was therefore carried.

The Birmingham School case, as is the Emanuel Hospital case, is a typical one. The questions at the bottom of it are three—First, are not only the express but the apparent intentions of founders always to be respected? secondly, is every open school to be considered a Church of England school? and thirdly, is no alteration ever to be made in such schools? The Marquis of Salisbury, and the House of Lords following him, have affirmed the Conservative doctrines on those points, and it is evident that they intend to apply these doctrines to all schools whatsoever. For instance, notwithstanding the majority in the House of Commons in favour of the Emanuel Hospital scheme, it is to be discussed again in the Lords, and the Lords will, no doubt, exercise their power to veto it. The whole question, therefore, of the reconstitution of the endowed schools is reopened. The Commons incline to decide one way, and the Lords the other way. What is to be the result? Are the schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to be stopped simply because of the bigotry and obstinacy of Lord Salisbury and his followers? Is the "dead hand" of the founder always to govern? Is the mere sect established by law always to retain its accidental position contrary to justice, to common sense, and to the popular will? These are the questions that are really raised by this debate. Probably they will be settled the sooner because of Lord Salisbury's action, but it is time that they were settled, for otherwise the Endowed Schools Commission itself will be only a farce, and reform a name instead of a reality.

THE LABOURERS' UNION AND THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

THE lock-out of farm-labourers in certain districts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in consequence of the decision of the Farmers' Defence Associations of those districts respectively not to employ any union men, is producing the result which a little foresight would have enabled the advocates of this mistaken policy to predict. The discharged men, with very few exceptions, have remained firm in their adherence to the union, and numbers of them are being assisted to migrate or emigrate. In the Swaffham district alone, 220 men are said to have departed within the space of five weeks, and those who remain behind are being supported by the funds of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union. In the district of Suffolk of which Glemsford is the centre, the lock-out has only just commenced; but from the fact that the men are daily joining the union in increasing numbers, it is easy to anticipate the result. The same remark applies to the lock-out in the neighbourhood of Sudbury, the headquarters of the Essex and Suffolk Farmers' Defence Association, the members of which, besides binding themselves to discharge all union men, have further agreed to pay no more than twelve shillings a week. In the Halstead district there is another Farmers' Association, and a lock-out has just been declared after some week's parleying, the men having maintained a very determined attitude. In many other parts of the country men have been discharged simply for belonging to the union, even when no application for an advance of wages had been made by them; and in almost every instance the result has been an accession of strength to the union.

Now it is strange that the farmers, who are so fond of proclaiming that the rate of wages is ruled by the law of supply and demand, should have taken measures certain to limit the supply of labour, and thus enhance its market price independently of the artificial regulation of it effected by the action of the union. It is one thing to refuse to yield to an unreasonable demand for an increase of wages, and quite another to attempt to suppress the union by refusing to employ any men who belong to it. The former course may lead to an amicable arrangement, the latter is a declaration of uncompromising warfare. An attack on the very life of the union naturally calls forth its most determined resistance, and occasions a feeling of bitterness that will not be easily allayed. The union is bound to support the men who stick to it, as long as the funds hold out, and it is an absolute necessity to use every effort to obtain employment for the locked-out men as speedily as possible, in order to prevent too great a drain upon those funds. Consequently, as soon as a lock-out takes place, all the men who are willing to leave are at once drafted off to the north of England, or, if they prefer it, to the colonies. The course then which has been taken by the farmers' unions—for so they may

appropriately be termed—is one that is suicidal to their own interests. They are probably convinced by this time that their efforts to crush the union in their several districts are futile, and it is to be hoped that their failure will be a sufficient warning to the farmers in other parts of the country. A general imitation of their proceedings would go far to remove the flower of our labouring agricultural population from the soil. Such an imitation has, however, most unwisely been advocated by a correspondent of *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, who thinks the union might easily be crushed, if the farmers throughout the country would combine for that purpose. This writer, who signs himself "W. C.," has the effrontery to recommend that the machinery of the boards of guardians should be used, or rather misused, in carrying out his plan for a National Farmers' Union! But apart from this extraordinary proposal, we are glad to believe that a combined attempt of the farmers to suppress the union is impracticable, for the simple reason that they are by no means unanimous as to either the wisdom or the desirability of such an attempt. On the contrary, a very large number of them strongly disapprove of the course which has been taken by the Farmers' Associations upon whose proceedings we have commented. This is a fact within our own knowledge, and it is with pleasure that we thus publicly exonerate a large class of our countrymen from complicity with the foolish proceedings of some of its members.

It is perfectly true, as is urged in excuse of the proceedings which we have condemned, that a strike of agricultural labourers at certain seasons of the year would be far more disastrous to farmers than a strike can be to manufacturers. But it is to be borne in mind that the busy agricultural seasons, such as the hay and the corn harvests, are the labourers' harvests also, and that they will hesitate long before locking themselves out from work at such times. Again, it is contended that if the union be not crushed, there is no prospect of a limit to the demands of the men. Possibly not; and it is not improbable that the tendency of the immediate future will be in the direction of a gradually increasing rate of wages for all kinds of labour. But, on the other hand, if the labourers are unreasonable in their demands, they will certainly defeat their own objects, and this their leaders know very well. They might succeed in forcing an exorbitant rate of pay during a few months of the year when their services are absolutely necessary to the farmers; but they are quite aware of the fact that such conduct would receive condign punishment in the slack winter season. In resisting unreasonable demands, the feeling of the public would be with the farmers, whereas it is certainly against them in their attempts to crush the union. In the cases of locking-out to which we have referred, the highest rate of wages demanded for day labourers was 15s. per week, whilst in one instance it was only 13s. On their own showing, it was not against these demands the Farmers' Associations stood out, but against the "dictation" of the union.

The Labourers' Union is a national one, and there is no reason why the farmers should not have a national association to enable them to resist unfair demands on the part of the labourers. We hope that the day is not far distant when capital and labour will no longer be in a state of intermittent warfare. But as long as such a lamentable state of affairs continues, it is obvious that if on the one side there is a powerful and disciplined organisation, and on the other anarchy and disunion, the result of every conflict is pre-determined. Up to this time we believe the right has almost invariably been on the side of the labourers, who in the majority of the eastern, western, and southern counties have been wretchedly paid. But it does not follow that it will continue to be so. At present, however, the appropriate part of the employers of labour in agriculture seems to be that of making reasonable concessions. Even if they have to do with fewer men, they must reconcile themselves to the payment of higher wages. The migration of labourers will certainly continue, until some approximation to a uniform rate of wages is attained. Complete and immediate uniformity is neither to be expected nor desired; but a difference as great as that between the wages of farm-labourers in Northumberland and in Dorsetshire, cannot, and should not, be maintained. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the now general demand for higher wages on the part of the farm-labourers should have come immediately after one of the most disastrous agricultural years on record. There is no doubt that a large proportion of the farmers of England and Scotland have suffered serious loss from the deficiencies of last harvest, and the present prospects for the current year are by no means encouraging. These considerations, although they should not hinder reasonable demands, should not be altogether unrecognised by the leaders of the Labourers' Union.

Professor Owen has been appointed to a Civil Companionship of the Order of the Bath.

THE NEW CABLE EXPEDITION.—The Great Eastern, with the chief part of the new Atlantic cable, has made a fair passage from Sheerness round to Portland. She has more than 2,600 miles of cable in her tanks, the remainder being stowed in three supplementary steamers.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.—The following is a list of the candidates who have passed the recent general examination for women:—

PASS LIST.—HONOURS DIVISION.—Lilian Hughes, private study; and Annette Sarah Verrall, Ladies' College, Cheltenham.

FIRST DIVISION.—Anna Lloyd Braithwaite, Ladies' College, Kendal; Florence Leigh Brancker, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; Mary Rebecca Hunt, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; Lucy Johnson, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; Caroline Lloyd, Bedford Collegeand private tuition; Grace Margaret Swan Pagan, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; Hannah Sturge, Ladies' College, Kendal, and private tuition; and Fanny Ada Vaughan, private tuition.

SECOND DIVISION.—Elizabeth Eleanor Atkinson, Bedford College.

MR. GLADSTONE ON EDUCATION IN IRELAND.—A memorial, signed by a large number of Irish ladies, was lately presented to Mr. Gladstone, praying for a grant from the surplus revenue of the Irish Church, with a view to the promotion of the higher education amongst women. The Premier, in his reply, doubts whether the time has come for giving this proposition full consideration, adding: "Of the three grades of education in Ireland the highest remains unsettled, the middle has not yet even been attempted—even the lower is sometimes threatened with disturbance. It seems requisite that some solid ground should be laid in these known and familiar questions before we put out to sea, as it may be called, were it only because we do not yet know how far it may be practicable to provide for the cases of women in dealing with University and middle-class education in Ireland."

THE TICHBORNE CASE.—The reading of the Tichborne claimant's evidence in the action of ejectment was brought to a close early in the course of yesterday's proceedings, and the examination of witnesses was then resumed. The Abbé Joseph Toursel, chaplain of the French Chapel in King-street, Portman-square, and who was formerly acquainted with the Tichborne family, stated that on one occasion Sir James and Roger attended mass, and afterwards they had a conversation with the Abbé in French. Witness complimented Roger on his speaking French so well, when Sir James pulled him up very abruptly, saying that his son would occupy a very important position in England, and it might injure him if he spoke English with a French accent. Dona Clara Hayley, the wife of the English physician at Melipilla, was next called. She spoke to Arthur Orton's arrival in that town many years ago. He was dressed as a sailor, said his father's name was George Orton, and that he was butcher to the Queen. He remained in her house three months. She saw him constantly during his stay in Melipilla, and when she did not see him at her own house she met him at the houses of her neighbours. She had looked at the defendant in court, and when asked by the examining counsel, "Can you tell me, is he like the boy who was with you?" the witness replied, "He is the same." The cross-examination of Dona Hayley had not been brought to a close when the court adjourned.

ALEXANDRA PALACE.—The opening of the Alexandra Palace and Park on Saturday next, the 24th instant, will add a new place of elevating amusement and recreation to the metropolis, and provide for residents in the rapidly growing northern suburbs an establishment offering similar attractions to those so long enjoyed at the Crystal Palace by their southern brethren. The natural beauty of the Alexandra Park, heightened as it is by judicious and tasteful planting, will be a great attraction, and the extent of the grounds (220 acres) renders them a valuable addition to the existing lungs of London, and the interior will make a delightful promenade. The great organ by Mr. Willis is one of the largest and finest instruments in the kingdom. A first-rate orchestra has been formed by Mr. Weist Hill, the conductor of the company's music, and an efficient choir of 300 voices will assist in the oratorios and other great performances which are to be given in the Palace. A theatre occupies one of the transepts, and in another is a concert hall which will seat 3,000 visitors. On the opening day there will be a grand international flower show, at which 1,200*l.* will be given in prizes; and at three p.m. a grand vocal and instrumental concert will take place in the centre transept, under the direction of Sir Michael Costa. The band and chorus will number upwards of 1,000, and amongst the vocalists engaged are Mdlle. Titiens, Mdlle. Natalie Corola, Madame Trebelli-Bettini, Signor Campanini, Signor Borella, and Signor Agnesi. A series of opera concerts in May, June, and July are also announced. A branch railway, to be opened on the 24th instant, wil place the palace in direct communication with all stations on the Great Northern, Metropolitan, and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

THE PEACE SOCIETY.

The fifty-seventh public anniversary of this society was held last evening at Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields, Mr. Henry Pease in the chair. There were present Mr. S. Morley, M.P., Mr. A. J. Mundella, M.P., Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P., Mr. H. Richard, M.P., the Rev. C. Vince, Messrs. Henry Vincent, Samuel Gurney, John Horniman, M. Henri Bellaire (Paris), Senor A. de Marcoartu (late of the Spanish Cortes), A. H. Hayward (Liverpool), Yardley Warner (U. S. America), Edmund Sturge, William Holmes, James Henderson, and William Tallack (secretary of the Howard Society).

The CHAIRMAN called on the secretary to read the report, or such parts of it as might be most interesting.

Mr. RICHARD, M.P. (the secretary), said he had no intention of inflicting on the audience the voluminous document which he held in his hand, and the appearance of which, he was afraid, might alarm them. They had heard him so often, and on the same subject, that it would have been more agreeable to him to hold his peace altogether on this occasion; but as this was the anniversary of the society, it was necessary to present some account of its proceedings during the past year. The report began by a reference to the loss sustained by the society by the death of several valued friends, amongst whom the committee desired to pay a special tribute of their esteem and gratitude and affection to the memory of Mr. Robert Charlton, of Bristol, who was a staunch friend of the society for twenty years, "ever ready to aid it by his sagacious counsels, his generous sympathies, and his liberal contributions." Allusion was also made in the report to a memorable occasion on which Mr. Charlton came conspicuously into notice:—"In conjunction with the late Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and Mr. Henry Pease, our present president, he was designated, not by the Peace Society, but by the Society of Friends, to go to St. Petersburg on a mission to the Emperor of Russia, on the eve of the Crimean War. Prompted purely by motives of Christian faith and philanthropy, they went in no political character, and with no political purpose whatever, but instructed by the religious body whom they represented in a few simple, earnest, Christian words to make an appeal to that powerful potentate in favour of peace. There is convincing evidence that that appeal was not in vain, and that it might have led to beneficent and practical results, if unhappily the temper of the nation, as represented by the press, and the course taken at the moment by those who guided our national policy, had not come in to frustrate the good influence of the ambassadors of peace." He believed that none of the gentlemen who bore part in that truly Christian and benevolent enterprise had had a moment's doubt as to the justness and wisdom of the course they took; but if any misgiving had ever passed across their minds, it must have been dispelled when they found that one or two years ago all the securities for the sake of which the war was waged, and which were supposed to justify the war, were absolutely surrendered by the very powers that made the war, leaving nothing whatever to show for the million of human lives, and the 400 millions of money which were sacrificed in that terrible contest. The report then gave an account of the various operations of the society by way of public meetings during the past year. More than 320 lectures and meetings had been held to advocate the cause of peace and international arbitration, and in this service they had been aided by Mr. Henry Vincent, the Rev. G. W. Conder, the Rev. John Flower, the Rev. Dr. Rees, the Rev. J. H. Paterson, the Rev. Arthur O'Neill, Mr. John Noble, Mr. A. H Dyer, Mr. William Pollard, the Rev. Mr. Humphreys, and others. A number of important conferences on international arbitration had also been held at Birmingham, Bristol, Darlington, and Dublin, through the agency of local associations, as well as by the direct action of the committee in London, and a great deal of work done in that way had been acting on the public mind. He should like just to make a passing remark here which was not in the report, and for which he would be responsible, not the committee:—He observed that when some of the public journals did them the honour to advert to the report presented at this anniversary and to the number of meetings that had been held, they frequently asked in a sarcastic tone, "Do these good people imagine that they really exercise any influence over public opinion by these well-meant endeavours?" Well, he answered calmly, and confidently, "We do believe that,"—(Hear, hear)—and it was a little curious that newspapers which had no reason to assign for their own existence, save that they existed to do the very thing which this society attempted to do, viz., to exercise any influence over public opinion by the same means, by statement of fact, by argument, should assume such a tone, when it was well known that it was not by means the press, so much as by means of societies like this that all the great recent social and political reforms had been effected in this country.

It was the Catholic Association that obtained the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act; it was the Dissenting Deputies and other Nonconformist associations that procured the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; it was the Anti-Slavery Society that abolished slavery, and it was the Anti-Corn Law League that led to the introduction of free trade. (Hear, hear.) So, in like manner, they of this society did believe in that conviction, and would continue to carry on its operations; for the Peace Society could do something; it had done something, it was doing something, and would do something more to bring war into discredit, and hasten the reign of universal peace. (Hear, hear.) He would now refer for a few moments to the more important and permanent incidents connected with the peace cause that had occurred during the past year:—"At the last annual meeting of the Peace Society the prospect of a peaceable settlement of the questions in dispute between this country and the United States had become suddenly clouded by serious differences of opinion that had arisen between the two governments as to the interpretation of certain articles in the Treaty of Washington. There was more than one crisis in the progress of the negotiations which ensued when the friends of peace could do little more than hope against hope. Happily, however, those concerned in the negotiations on both sides preserved a calm and conciliatory temper; while the two great nations whose interests were involved displayed, during several months of irritating suspense, a degree of composure and self-control that was most honourable to their character. Ultimately a way of escape was found out of the difficulties, partly through the timely intervention of the distinguished gentlemen who constituted the Tribunal of Geneva, which left the course clear for them to proceed with their great work of international jurisdiction. The committee desire to express their warmest gratitude to Her Majesty's Government, and especially to Lord Granville, for the patience and perseverance with which he sought means to extricate the two countries from the dangerous perplexities which at one time threatened to wreck the arbitration. Nothing in their judgment could be more admirable or more worthy of the character of a Christian and patriotic statesman than the combined firmness, temper, and tact displayed by the Foreign Secretary throughout the whole of that critical conjuncture. As to the Geneva tribunal itself, no two opinions exist or can exist that the gentlemen who acted as arbitrators were honourable and high-minded men, who sought by the most diligent study of the questions brought before them, and by the exercise of a calm and conscientious judgment, to arrive at a just conclusion. And although the award has not gone in our favour on the material issues, there cannot be a doubt that the general sentiment of the country is well expressed in the language of one of our journals (the *Saturday Review*), that 'the Geneva award is entitled not only to implicit acquiescence but to the respect which belongs to a conscientious and intelligent verdict.' The value of this event as an indication of the progress of civilisation, and as a precedent for the future, is not to be exaggerated. A few discontented spirits, indeed, have attempted to show that the general principle of arbitration has been discredited, because the judgment, both in this case and in that referred to the Emperor of Germany, has been adverse to this country. We believe, on the contrary, that the calm and dignified submission with which the English nation as a whole has accepted these judgments, and consented without a murmur to pay the considerable penalties with which they were accompanied, will have done more to consecrate the principle of arbitration than if the most triumphant success had attended its cause. It has given a noble example which no nation hereafter shall be able to disregard, of implicit obedience to the authority of law even when its decision has been adverse to itself. The conspicuous fact of Great Britain and the United States having successfully appealed to arbitration as a means of adjusting such serious and dangerous differences as existed between them has naturally attracted great attention, and given renewed impulse to the idea and aspiration which has been long cherished by a few thoughtful minds in favour of a defined and authoritative system of international law to be administered by an international tribunal." The committee rejoiced to find that this question had been discussed with activity and earnestness in various countries of Europe, in our own by Professor Lorimer, Professor Seely, Viscount Amberley, Professor Levi and Mr. Frederick Seebohm, who, quite independently of the Peace Society, had recently contributed to the literature of this subject. It was also a most gratifying indication of the interest felt on this subject that a gentleman now on the platform, Senor de Marcoartu, formerly a member of the Spanish Cortes, had offered a prize of 300*l.* for the best essay on the means of securing peace by the establishment of a Court of Arbitration. It was also gratifying to the committee to observe amongst the many testimonies they had received recently, the earnest spirit in which this subject had been taken hold of by the religious bodies of this country. The Congregational and Baptist bodies had not only passed unanimous resolutions in favour of arbitration at the great assemblies of the Unions which represented all their churches, but they had done so in their separate district Associations in almost every county of England and Wales. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales and the Primitive and other Methodist bodies in England had adopted a similar course. The United Presbyterian Synod of Edinburgh had done the same. The committee also acknowledged with special satisfaction the cordial support which the arbitration movement had received from many of the clergy of the Church of England. The Archbishop of York had accepted the presidency of the Yorkshire International Arbitration Association, and the Dean of Ripon and the Archdeacon Musgrave were vice-presidents. The Bishop of Manchester wrote that "to say nothing of the legitimate influence of Christian principles, it was nothing less than a monstrous anachronism that nations should be still found settling their quarrels, not before the tribunals of equity and reason, but by the brutal and irrational arbitrament of the sword." At May lectures and public meetings clergymen of the Established Church had taken the chair. The committee delighted to dwell on this part of the subject because they had hitherto sometimes had occasion to bewail the apathy, and in some instances the positive hostility, of ministers of religion to the peace movement. They therefore hailed the gradual accession to their ranks of so many members of this powerful body. The committee rejoiced not so much in the influence so gained, but because it was the right kind of influence. There was only one power in the world that could effectually confront and overturn the war power, and that was the power of the Christian Church. She, stronger than sword or bayonet, needle-gun or rifled cannon, possessed weapons which, though not carnal, were mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, and there was no stronghold of injustice, oppression, and cruelty in existence so formidable as that which the war-god had built for itself in the heart of Christian Europe. But when all Christians united to suppress it, it would fall as the walls of Jericho before the trumpets of the Jewish priests. (Hear, hear.) He would now advert for a moment to another interesting incident that had occurred during the past year. Some friends in America had been for many years zealous advocates for the establishment of something like a permanent court of nations for the settlement of disputes between states, and that which had given a tendency to this thought was the fact that there already existed in the great Republic institutions of that kind which had been attended with the happiest results. To employ the words of an illustrious man who had recently passed from amongst us, himself a strenuous friend of international arbitration—Mr. J. S. Mill—(cheers)—"in the United States the tribunals which act as umpires between the Federal and States Governments, naturally also decide all disputes between two States," &c. The Supreme Court of the Federation dispenses international law, and is the first great example of what is now one of the most prominent wants of civilised society—a real international tribunal. Well, then, friends in America, encouraged by this signal precedent which existed in their own land, and stimulated by the successful result of the Geneva arbitration, conceived the idea of a mission to Europe to propagate their views, and to invite the co-operation of the friends of justice and humanity in the Old World towards their practical realisation. This mission was to have consisted of Mr. Elihu Burritt and the Rev. J. B. Miles, secretary of the American Peace Society. Unhappily, Mr. Burritt's health would not permit him to undertake it, and Mr. Miles, therefore, had to do the work alone, which he did with a diligence and devotion worthy of all praise. The committee were delighted to see him, and welcomed him, and gave him all the encouragement in their power. After he had stayed a few days in London, he went to the continent, and visited France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Germany. His object was to get special access to distinguished statesmen and jurists, in order to submit his ideas to them, and endeavour to enlist their sympathy on his behalf. The special idea of their American friends was this:—To convene a voluntary congress of the leading jurists of all nations, with a view to define, consolidate, and, so far as possible, settle the principles and rules of international law, as the first and essential step towards the establishment of an international tribunal. Amongst those to whom Mr. Miles submitted his views were Count Sclopis, the President of the Tribunal of Geneva; the Viscount D'Itajuba, Brazilian Ambassador at Paris, and member of the Tribunal; M. Drouyn de Lhuys, formerly Foreign Minister of Finance; Signor Mancini, Professor of International Law in the University of Rome; Signor Pierantoni, holding the same office in the University of Naples; M. Heffter and M. Holzendorff, the distinguished German jurists; M. de Laveleye, M. Jaqueminis, and M. Vissipers, in Belgium; M. Charles Calvo, M. de Parien, and M. Charles Lucas, of France, all men of distinction in regard to the study of international law. They all acknowledged the excellence of Mr. Miles's views, and many of them expressed their substantial concurrence in the means he proposed for their attainment. He would not detain the meeting by dealing with the variety of other topics in the report; but he must make one allusion to the agitation that was being carried on in favour of peace by the working men of this country. The committee had watched with peculiar interest and satisfaction the operation of the Workmen's Peace Associations by conferences and trade councils, and at public meetings as well as by correspondence on the question of International Peace Arbitration. It was to the committee one of the most hopeful signs of the times to find the labouring classes, who were the first victims of war, joining spontaneously in the campaign for peace, and it was gratifying to find that in any assembly of working men the question always met with a prompt and cordial support. He had just received from Mr. Cremer, the secretary of the Working Men's Peace Association, a letter from Glasgow, in which he said that a conference had just been held there at which there were 116,300 artisans represented by delegates, and the greatest unanimity prevailed, and a resolution had been passed to the effect that the commercial and economical advancement of the industrial classes being essential to their highest intellectual and moral development, and as war between nations diminished production, and increased the cost of food, and entailed heavy financial burdens, the conference gave its adherence to the principle of international arbitration as a practical, rational, and economical means of permanently settling international disputes, and expressed a fervent hope that the House of Commons would give a cordial support to the motion of Mr. Henry Richard. (Hear, hear.) It was pleasant also to find the increasing support of several ladies, amongst whom the committee named Mrs. E. M. King and Miss Sturge, of Birmingham, who had shown a praiseworthy desire to enter on a course of propagandism in favour of the peace cause. (Hear, hear.) There were several other points in the report. One referred to the Mutiny Act and the obligations which soldiers were relieved from. An amendment had been promised, and an amended bill had been passed, but it was not satisfactory, as the concession was so clogged with difficulties that it was little better than a mockery, "keeping promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope." The report concluded with a general review of the prospects of peace amongst the so-called civilised nations. Here they were met by two classes of facts that wer discordant and contradictory; on the one side they saw the Governments plunging deeper and deeper into the military system of provoking each other to a deadly encounter, sacrificing everything that was most precious in national life and prosperity, and rendering life so intolerable by compulsory military service, as to drive into exile crowds of the rising youth of the country. On the other side they saw these same nations growing rapidly in the intelligence which enabled them to see the absurdity of war, and its shocking brutalities, in contrast with those clear conceptions of religion and morality which brought into broader relief its injustice and wickedness. On the one side were Governments encouraging and glorifying war, and on the other the population demanding peace. Surely the issue could not long be doubtful. "In these days," the report concluded, "when popular power is increasing, and must increase in every civilised nation, the voice of the people will at length be heard, for in this instance at least, if in no other, the voice of the people is as the voice of God." The hon. member sat down amid loud cheers.

Mr. RICHARD, M.P., then read the balance-sheet, which showed a balance in hand, in May, 1872, of 616*l.*; the receipts had been—from collections, 15*l.*; subscriptions and donations, 4,903*l.*; and legacies, &c., brought up the total receipts to 6,043*l.* On the expenditure side were items of 849*l.* for the *Herald of Peace*, printing, &c., salaries and wages, 800*l.* odd; rent, 95*l.*; postages, 60*l.*; stationery, &c., 34*l.*; agents' travelling expenses, lectures, &c., 3,004*l.*; foreign agency, 150*l.*; investments, 556*l.*, leaving a balance in the bank of 436*l.*, and cash in hand, 6*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*

The CHAIRMAN said he would be brief in introducing the speakers who would follow him, but he had desired to call attention to the interest taken in this question by the artisan class, which, however, had been done so well already by Mr. Richard. He knew there were many gentlemen who could not believe that all war was essentially wrong, but yet they all agreed in the first grand principle that love must rule in the heart of a Christian. He cordially accepted the expression of gratitude to Earl Granville, as noticed in the report, because Lord Granville and his coadjutors had incurred no little censure from certain parties, and yet they did not yield their principles for the sake of temporary popularity. (Hear, hear.) They heard a good deal about the "*prestige*" of a nation, but what did it mean? Did it mean that the course a state should follow was to set nation against nation, or that God having made of one blood all the nations of the earth, they could cultivate the principle of love between all mankind, which was the principle this society desired to follow? (Hear, hear.) He would add one word more, and ask the speakers to pour out the full force of their talent, experience, and sympathy, and the audience to respond and encourage the workers in the cause, which he believed would grow and triumph as years rolled on. (Cheers.)

The Rev. CHARLES VINCE moved the following resolution:—

> That this meeting desire to record their cordial satisfaction with the settlement, by arbitration, of the serious difficulties that existed between this country and the United States of America. They especially rejoice at the success of the tribunal of Geneva, not only because it has finally disposed of a question that was full of danger to the peace of these two kindred and Christian nations, but because they confidently hope, in the words of the Prime Minister, "that it has established an example which will be fruitful of benefit to other nations."

He said their secretary had written to him a few days ago telling him the kind of resolution to which he would have to speak, but adding that he would be perfectly at liberty to touch on topics not embraced by the resolution, and he would avail himself of the proffered liberty. The

circle embraced by the principles, and the motives, and the arguments of the Peace Society was indeed such a very vast one, that there need be no inducement to travel outside of that. It had been said that the peace movement was a narrow movement, that the men joining in it were men of one idea. The society had its faults, but narrowness of sympathy and aim were not among them. From a monetary point of view, it could not be condemned as narrow in its aims; it sought to lessen the wasted outlay of empires. It desired that England should lead the way in that good work, and by the influence of example get the other nations to spend their hard-earned money not in the creating of tears, but in the wiping of them away; not in the creation of sorrows, but in the alleviation of them; not in turning fertile fields into a wilderness; not in turning stately cities into heaps of ruins, but in tilling the waste lands, and creating instead of destroying. (Cheers.) The Peace Society sought to create a spirit which would lessen the taxation of the whole world. Empires, like individuals, had their differences, and it were best that they should secure that right should be enthroned above might. The society sought to overthrow a system which wasted the lives of thousands and millions. These were objects which showed that the society could not be accused of narrowness of sympathy or purpose. To those who sneered at the principles of the society as being only suited for practice when the millenium had arrived, he would reply that wise-doing and well-doing would not be the result of the millenium, but the causes of its coming. National arbitration went on the good principle that no man was a good judge in his own cause. Wherein did nations differ from individuals? Artemus Ward said there was a good deal of human nature in people generally—(laughter) and the speaker contended that, when a man was a member of a company, it was likely there would be more human nature in him than before. (Laughter.) So it was with a collection of individuals called a state, and arbitration was as effective in the aggregate as in the individual instance. If by arbitration war had been stopped, it did not imply the prevention of one war only, but of the progeny of that war down to all time. (Loud cheers.) The speaker concluded by an anecdote of the late Mr. Joseph Sturge, who, on being asked what he would do in the event of being placed in a certain aggravating position, said, "I will not tell thee what I would do, but what I ought to do."

Mr. A. J. MUNDELLA said he had never moved or supported a resolution before any public meeting which had his more hearty and thorough concurrence than the resolution he now begged to second. He had always, since he had taken any part in public life, advocated a system of international arbitration, not only from deep conviction, but from what he had seen of the results of arbitration between masters and workmen; and also because of the advice of the great modern teacher, Mr. Cobden. (Loud cheers.) There were few men who had suffered so much from the insults engendered by the military spirit than that statesman, but almost everything he wrote, and everything he said, seemed to have verged on the prophetic. The society might well congratulate itself, for what, after all, was the wonderful work—the arbitration with the United States—but the work of the society and the friends of peace. (Cheers.) Twenty years ago no man would have ventured to hope that a great question between two great nations, of which England was one, would be settled by an international tribunal. He was happy to believe that England had taken the initiatory step which would make it very difficult for their own, or any other wise and Christian nation, to go to war again. The resolution referred to America and England, but they had all in their minds, whilst considering the question of peace, the events and influence of the Franco-Germanic war. In July, 1870, he left the House of Commons to go through France and Germany, who were then engaged in that fearful contest. It was impossible for him to reach his destination in any reasonable time, except by military trains, to travel by which required a pass from the German Minister. In possession of that pass the speaker travelled three days and nights through North Germany. His companion was a veteran diplomatist from the north of Europe, who had been instrumental in negotiating many treaties, and likewise had had to do with bloody wars. The scenes *en route* were so horrible that sometimes his companion, who was not troubled with much sentimentality, drew the carriage windows up and burst into tears again and again, saying he could stand no more. From thence he went to America, where the Alabama question was the great subject of debate. On one occasion, he was present when Mr. Hughes, the member for Frome, addressed a large meeting of citizens at Boston. He (Mr. Mundella) sat between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Longfellow, whilst Mr. Hughes spoke in advocacy of arbitration, and asked if it was possible for kindred nations to go to war with each other. Mr. Sumner, in reply to a question of the same nature, so expressed himself as to make it appear that he was somewhat ashamed and abashed at having recommended, as he had previously done, such extreme measures. He (Mr. Mundella) went from city to city in America, sometimes addressing audiences, always contending they could not be the right judges in their own case, but suggesting they should abide the decision of some independent tribunal; and wherever he went he met with a cordial and hearty response. When he came back he went to Mr. Gladstone and Earl Granville, and recommended arbitration. He cared nothing for the Irish question, or any other question agitating America, knowing that arbitration would go over the heads of all factions. (Cheers.) Was there ever a more crucial test than that arbitration, of what might have been done to prevent the Franco-German war?—a question of the crown of a nation which the late wearer was only too glad to run away from. Talk of humiliation, what could be greater than the humiliation France had now sustained, and Germany had gained a spirit of lust of power and conquest which might prove her danger and, perhaps, her ruin. (Cheers.) England's debt, had wars not caused it, might, in other channels, have promoted temperance and thrift among the people, and raise them in the social scale. He trusted the good work would go on until the war-spirit was crushed and annihilated. There were great duties devolving, with the privileges which England held. The next step would be the reduction of armaments. England and America, who had set the example of arbitration, would no doubt set the next example by reducing their armaments. A military force not only provoked the curse of war; there were social horrors behind a standing army which he could not lift the veil from to that association. In conclusion, he congratulated the members on the progress made, and the success of their efforts in bringing about such great results. (Applause.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. HENRY BELLAIRE, secretary of a French society called the Friends of Peace, was then introduced to the meeting by the chairman, and delivered a short speech in French. He stated that a new election was about to take place in France, and there were hopes that the chairman of the society he was connected with would be returned, in which event he would bring forward a motion of the same nature which Mr. Henry Richard was about to submit to the House of Commons. It was also believed that another gentleman favourable to the cause would be returned. Mr. Bellaire expressed his satisfaction at England being at the head of Christian civilisation, having first abolished slavery, and being engaged in endeavouring to abolish war. (Cheers.)

Mr. S. MORLEY, M.P., moved the following resolution:

That in the judgment of this meeting the present system of rivalry in armaments which exists among the nations of Europe, and which is every year becoming more aggravated, though maintained on the pretext of preserving peace, is full of danger to the cause both of peace and liberty. The meeting therefore observes with sincere pleasure the growing interest displayed in the various countries of Europe in favour of some fixed system of international jurisdiction for the settlement of disputes between States by reason and equity, instead of that appeal to arms, which affords the only justification for those enormous armaments by which the nations are oppressed.

The hon. gentleman said although that was the first time that he had stood on the platform of the Peace Society, he had for some years been a member of it through contributing to its funds, his friend Mr. Richard having informed him that there was nothing in his deep conviction that it was necessary for England to maintain an efficient navy to prevent him from uniting in the great work of strengthening the public sentiment against war. (Cheers.) He had watched with deep and increasing interest the efforts of that society, and especially had he observed the wisdom and earnestness which had marked the proceedings of its admirable secretary. (Cheers.) He had heard with great pleasure what was said in the report about the growing interest of the working classes on that subject. During a vast deal of intercourse with working men, he had always found among them a sentiment of opposition to war, and a desire to promote by every means in their power the adoption of the principle of arbitration. He was glad that the sentiment existed, and was increasing nnder the leadership of such men as Mr. Cremer (who was the secretary of the Working Men's Peace Association); because, beyond all doubt the people, in the broadest sense of the word, were coming into power in this country. He believed that the extended franchise would be used on the side of the principles which were that night being advocated. (Cheers.) He thought it was true wisdom to promote intercourse among the nations, and had always rejoiced when excursion trains had brought large numbers of working men from the Continent to visit working men in England. He was confident that the more the peoples of the earth shook hands with each other the stronger would be their opposition to war; and hence he rejoiced in the almost entire disappearance of passports and the promotion of facilities of our visiting foreigners and for foreigners visiting us. In like manner he believed that great good would result from the establishment of international coinage; and he was sorry that in the recent reconstruction of foreign coinage there had not been more assimilation. He hope that the gentlemen on the platform and others belonging to what were termed the influential classes would seek to come more into contact with the working classes, feeling certain that that would tend to strengthen the cause so long and so consistently advocated by the society. (Cheers.) As regarded the terms of his resolution, he would remark that during an extensive commercial experience he had had something to do with the settlement of disputes between tradesmen, and he had had the great satisfaction of preventing law proceedings between men who had quarrelled, and of promoting a better understanding between them. He entirely subscribed to the opinion that men were bad judges in their own quarrels, and had often observed how the judgment was perverted and passions were excited in such cases. What applied in that respect to individuals he held to be true also of nations; and the promotion of the best interests of nations, even in a material point of view, as well as in reference to the great principle of promoting "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace," was completely frustrated by recourse to the wretched arbitrament of war. (Hear, hear.) He believed that at the present moment as many as 5,830,000 armed men were being maintained in Europe; and when they thought of the utter waste which resulted from the maintenance of that enormous number of idle men, and of the miseries which resulted from war both to soldiers and to those who were related to them, not only should they be thankful for the work which that society was doing, but they should all in their respective spheres endeavour to strengthen the hands of those who were engaged in the holy enterprise of advancing the cause of peace. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. W. PEASE, M.P., seconded the resolution. He asked on what ground the country supported its present great armaments. France was in a trampled state, Germany was most closely connected with England, and had always been on most friendly terms with her; there could be no apprehension of Spain or Italy, and America had reduced her forces to 24,000 men, who were dispersed throughout the whole country; indeed it was said that it would take America six or eight weeks to collect an army of 10,000 men. Leaders of opinion on both sides of the House of Commons had advocated arbitration. Mr. Hardy, in his motion with regard to the Geneva award, expressly stated that he did not impugn the principle of arbitration, but merely the views which the arbitrators took upon that great question. It was to be hoped that the first experience of international arbitration would hasten the day when the nations should not learn war any more.

Mr. HENRY VINCENT, who was received with loud cheers, supported the resolution. He said: Although I deem it a great honour to be permitted to take part in this assembly, my judgment tells me it would not be just to you to-night to inflict anything like a speech upon you, for I feel, in spite of your genial applause and somewhat seductive manner, that nothing that I say can add to the force of what has been already so well said in your presence in defence of peace principles and a peace policy. But, briefly, I may say that I believe it to be of supreme importance, in spite of all that may be done by social and political action, to hold up before the people the utter and irreconcileable nature of the two opposite questions of peace and of war; for instead of believing that the abstract peace question is Utopian—instead of believing that the abstract peace question is unworthy of the attention of practical men, I think that there can be no true conception of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unless men believe that the spirit of war, which includes within itself murder, and arson, and theft, and every possible crime, is in flagrant and open hostility to that spirit of Christianity which means "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will towards men." (Loud cheers.) And it is to the unfaithfulness of the Christian Church.—(Hear)—on this as upon many other moral questions that the progress of the world is by such slow and cumbersome stages, as we find it to be. For how comes it that among Christian men we constantly find this sentiment prevail, that just at the very moment when Christianity is most needed to sustain the soul and to guide the life, precisely at that moment is Christianity abandoned, as though it were not a living and Divine power. It is intended to sanctify and ennoble the soul, and guide it to life and light. And just in proportion as we could multiply the number of men and women in every nation who, in season and out of season, declare that this mission of the Gospel of Christ, to uproot the fashion of war and lay it low, just in proportion as we can multiply the number of such men and women, so shall we strengthen that enlightened policy, that humane policy, and political policy, that is recommended to you this night under the form of arbitration between the nations of the earth. It is also true that this policy of arbitration is not itself an unacceptable policy even to those wicked people of whom the Rev. Mr. Vince so ably spoke. Is it true that God has shut us up to the dire necessity of repeating great wars from time to time? Is it the truth that God has deprived us of all reason, of all conscience, of all political prudence, and that one of the necessary conditions even of the present state of civilisation is the constant occurrence of war, with all its woes, and with all its horrors? I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that the intellect and conscience which have already done so much for men of all nations civilised, and even savage; I believe that the intellect and conscience which have already abolished, in most nations, the practice of duelling; I believe the reason and conscience which have by degrees brought villages, and towns, and cities, and nations under the dominion of law—law that enthrones itself above the lawless fashions and the lawless will of individuals—I believe that the same reason and the same conscience that, brought to bear on the Parliament of England, upon the representative body in the United States, upon the Parliament of France, upon the representative assemblies of Germany and Italy—I believe that the same conscience and the same mind will ere long produce an impression upon kings, and magistrates, and the rulers of the world; and the day shall come, not perhaps swiftly, that war shall be entirely abolished. That day shall

come, and the authority of international law shall interpose itself between armed brigands and bind them down to order and peace, in the interests of labour, in the interests of trade, in the interests of commerce, in the interests of civilisation. So that I urge you not to regard this movement from any Christian sense, or in a political sense, as Utopian. Work in your own country with energy and with faith, for you will have allies where you little dream of them of them at present. I can confirm what was stated by the honourable member for Sheffield, for during the past seven years I made four extensive journeys through the United States, spending nearly three years in that great country, delivering five hundred lectures there, besides occasionally preaching on the Sabbath, and addressing Sunday-schools on Sabbath afternoons; and from one end of that country to the other, whenever I appealed for a brotherly and fraternal feeling between Old England and Young America, the sentiment was always greeted with a tempest of cheers. I can confirm the statement that there is a public influence existing that will check the madness of the politicians of the world. The speaker then said that most of the statesmen he had had the honour to know had been political Christians, and not Christian politicians. (Laughter and cheers.) It rested with God-fearing men and women to introduce into politicians the faith which would lead them to be enemies of war, and supporters of peace among all nations. They must rouse themselves in faith and by prayers before the throne, and dedicate themselves, amongst other great causes, to that of universal peace. They must do all in their power as citizens to support such men as were free from military bias, and aid in enthroning the great principle of arbitration. (Loud cheers.) This resolution was also carried unanimously.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting approves of the motion of which Mr. Henry Richard has given notice in the House of Commons, proposing to ask Her Majesty's Government to take the initiative by communication with the other Governments, in the further improvement of international law, and in the establishment of a general and permanent system of international arbitration.

He said it would be wrong as well as unnecessary for him to trespass upon the time of the meeting. He congratulated them upon having so able a secretary, so devoted a friend, and so earnest a well-wisher, as his friend the member for Myrthyr, and was sorry that gentleman had not the opportunity of bringing forward, in the House of Commons, the resolution which he had on hand. It was a melancholy fact that a great number of members of the House were identified, in some way or other, with the military system of the country. All attempts to deal with the estimates, when they come before the House of Commons, had henceforth proved utterly futile, and it was only by changing the constitution of the House, in some degree, that any good could be done in that direction. He considered that hardly sufficient praise had been given to Mr. Gladstone and Earl Granville, for the steadiness and constancy they exhibited during all the trials they were exposed to at the time of the Geneva arbitration. Although not a thick-and-thin supporter of the Government, he judged that the conduct of these two statesmen, on that occasion, would redeem many errors. A great stumbling-block in the way of the country was the guarantees with which it was hampered. These ought to be removed; they might land the country at any moment in war, as had been shown at the time of the Franco-Prussian war in the case of the guarantee of the neutrality of Belgium. It was the duty of this country to free itself from every obligation of such a nature, which had been contracted by those who had gone before. It was sufficient to be guided by their own judgment when difficulties arose, and thus the country might be kept out of European quarrels, provided those guarantees were removed. He thought they had also better discard professional diplomacy, which had hitherto been a curse to the civilised world. (Cheers.)

Senor de MURCOARTU spoke in English in support of the resolution, and alluded to England as the abolisher of slavery and the Corn Laws, and to his friendship with Richard Cobden. He stated that he had communicated with the most eminent men on the subject of peace in Belgium, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, and he had been promised that since Mr. Richard had given notice of his motion in the House of Commons, a similar motion was to be introduced in Italy—(Hear, hear)—by the President of the Chamber of Deputies there; and he expressed a hope that these motions would be successful in both countries.

Mr. WARNER, of Philadelphia, also briefly supported the motion, sympathising with and appreciating the movement, and advising the audience to go home and "work," and not be content till not only war armaments ceased, but military peace establishments ceased also.

Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS (Ohio), being called on to speak, said he would only say "just the same" to the previous speaker.

The resolution was passed, and a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Mr. RICHARD and acknowledged, concluded the proceedings, which lasted about three hours.

A numerously-attended conference of delegates representing more than 90,000 men of the various branches of the National Association of Miners of Great Britain, was opened at Glasgow yesterday; Mr. Alexander Macdonald in the chair.

Literature.

*MR. PICTON ON THE MYSTERY OF MATTER.**

The general characteristics of Mr. Picton's volume are very remarkable. Whatever degree of accordance we give to his theory, as the product of a strong thinker, an accomplished scholar, a mind of very high order of imaginative and poetic beauty, and a heart full of tender sympathies and deeply devout in feeling, his book claims a place among the most masterly and beautiful productions of our generation.

As a thinker, Mr. Picton is acute, profound, and resolute—his keen intellect searches the heart of every matter. He may not always be successful in harmonising phenomena with his theories, and may relegate to the insoluble questions that others think may be grappled with, not without some success; but he neither misses nor evades a difficulty. Vagueness, hazy mistiness, superficialness, is intellectually impossible to him. Where he cannot hold thought in a distinct, firm intellectual grasp, he lets his hand drop, and makes no attempt to hold it all. Keen and clear, rather than subtle, we do not always realise the depth and independence of his thinking, nor how far from conventional modes he has carried us; and his grip is so firm and his logic so remorseless that, to all but vigorous and practised thinkers, his conclusions seem inevitable. And he is as fearless as he is strong. No conventional modes of thought have the slightest influence in restraining his conclusions. Accepted theology, professional considerations, do not appear to occur to him as claiming the slightest consideration. A searcher after truth, neither human authority nor divine hinders his straightforward gaze, his intrepid quest. Reverently, but fearlessly, he asks of the most sacred thing its meaning. This is the true spirit of the truth-seeker, and Mr. Picton exemplifies it as much as any thinker of his day. We do not agree with many of his conclusions, but we must do homage to both his method and his spirit.

Mr. Picton's imagination is rich and chaste. In his volume there are passages and pages of poetic prose which few English writers surpass. They are eloquent with luminous thought, which finds expression, always elegant and clear, often of very great imaginative beauty. Few passages of modern literature surpass, for instance, his characterisation of the Psalms and the very fine series of images on pp. 398, 399. And to these qualities must be added a spirit of deep and tender religiousness, having affinities with everything in Christian or religious thought that is most spiritual, holy, and loving. Not a harsh judgment or a bitter word occurs in the volume. It is catholic with the affinities of a highly spiritual and religious soul, which, not as a theological lesson, but as a living experience, has long realised that of the sacred triad, by far the greatest of which is charity. His book is not merely a sea with a calm surface, it has a translucent depth into which we gaze with the certainty that it is long since angry passion or intellectual fierceness has disturbed it. Every argument, every speculation, carries us nearer and nearer to the infinite truth and love. In this it is in marvellous contrast with Mr. Arnold's recent book—which, whatever its "tendency "which makes for righteousness," is utterly destitute of the tendency which makes for love. Mr. Picton's solicitudes and arguments all minister to the trust and love of the religious heart. He is ever carrying us into the higher region of the spiritual, and making us stand face to face with God.

What then is its main position? What are the arguments that sustain it, and how do these stand related to common Christian theology? We can only indicate some of the points involved in the reply. It would demand a space equal to that of these bulky essays to criticise them in any adequate way.

The title of the first essay, the "Mystery of "Matter," simply serves to designate the volume. We must go to the last, "Christian "Pantheism," for the formal affirmation and vindication of its doctrine. By Christian Pantheism, Mr. Picton means that God is not a personal creator antithetic to things created—that He is not one moral being among many, an infinitely magnified man, with angels and men as distinct, although related and dependent moral beings, around him—"a kind of "gigantic self amidst a host of minor selves." God, he maintains, is the one all-embracing and only being—the all in all—and all things that are so-called—material things, as well as spiritual existences—are not creatures of which He is the author, nor emanations of which He is the source, but phenomena of which He is the noumenon—adumbrations of which He is the substance. "If a man feels that human "life, like all the phenomena of the world "around him, is the fragmentary manifestation of a Universal Power which shows itself "within as well as without, in inspirations of "right thoughts and holy desires, as well as in "organic forms, he may know that his supreme "good is realised in the conscious and glad "subordination of all self-centred life to 'the "'glory of the sum of all things'" (p. 385.) "What we mean, then, generally by Christian "Pantheism, is that theory of the world which, "while acknowledging that human thought "and language are not articulately expressive of anything more than phenomenal "knowledge, yet sees in phenomena the "fragmentary and partial manifestations of "an unutterable unity beyond them. Nor is "this unity merely negative, merely the "abstractions of this or that creature form. It "is the sense of all that is; and that, not in the "sense of an aggregate, but in the sense of "Absolute Being; the only real unity" (p. 393). "Pantheism makes no pretence to explain "everything, yet it has this advantage, that it "accepts the world as it is, as an eternal expression of God; not our knowledge of the "world; nor our idea of the world; but that "fulness, to the perception of which mankind "have ever been approximate" (p. 412). "The "man himself is a phenomenal manifestation "of the Supreme Life no less than is the world "around him. And if it be asked how can the "sense of contrast arise, I have only to answer, "I do not know. It is at present one of our "ultimate facts, of which apparently no explanation can be given; and from the mere "operations of consciousness none is to be "expected" (p. 417). Only if the theory of pantheism thus obstinately refuses to submit itself to science, and takes refuge for its ultimate difficulties in the unknowable, wherein is it superior to the theory of ultimate creation? There is nothing more self-contradictory in the conception of matter and men as absolutely produced by a creating fiat than in the conception of matter and men as mere phenomenal manifestations of the Supreme Life, with a consciousness of personal antithesis in their relations to that life. Our consciousness does not respond when Mr. Picton says, "Pantheism regarding all things "as the phenomenal manifestation of God, is "clearly consistent with the thought that in man "such manifestations produce the phenomena "of self-consciousness." It may be so, but to us, in the sense of contrast, it is simply unthinkable.

After a rapturous and very beautiful eulogy of Spinoza, Mr. Picton guards himself from Spinoza's error in attempting to define phenomenal relations. "We are not God; and our "thoughts cannot be the thoughts of God; for "our minds are full of seeming separateness "and finiteness" (p. 423.) But if, on the testimony of our consciousness, we stop short of Spinoza's conclusions, why, on the same testimony, should we not stop short of Mr. Picton's? for if consciousness testifies to anything, it does to our personal and contrasted, although not independent self-hood. It is, in truth, difficult to express in words the difference between the true Pantheism which all Christian minds recognise when they speak of the inspiration and immanance of God, and the Pantheism for which Mr. Picton contends, as bridging the gulf between science and theology; but we submit that consciousness attests the distinction to be deep and wide. We must maintain the proper self which consciousness attests, even though we cannot think its relations to the infinite God, against the mere phenomenal being which Mr. Picton maintains, which in its relations is equally unthinkable, and which consciousness explicitly contradicts.

To maintain this theory, Mr. Picton has to account for matter, for moral beings such as men, for Christ and the New Testament teachings about Him, and for the Bible itself.

With the latter, on his assumption, his task is not difficult. He simply rejects all infallible and authoritative external teaching; that of the Bible as well as that of the Pope or the Church. He feels, for instance, at perfect liberty to reject, and formally does reject, the Bible doctrine of the creation; not merely in specific form, but in absolute substance. The writer of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews is as mistaken as the writer of the Book of Genesis. And the teaching of Paul and John concerning the place of Christian dogma is equally mistaken. Mr. Picton may possibly be right; but the question of the authority of the Bible as a supernatural

* *The Mystery of Matter, and other Essays.* By J. ALLANSON PICTON (Macmillan and Co.)

revelation of the thoughts and ways of God is not settled yet, and cannot be disposed of by an assumption.

Mr. Picton simply assumes his position in relation to it; we must here in like manner simply refuse to concede it; in which case, as he admits, some of his positions are untenable, as we think are the very fundamental principles of his theory. It is difficult to argue a theory where there is such a difference about the standard of appeal. We certainly, while admitting to the full the testimony of consciousness and the demonstrations of science, are not contented that the testimony of the Bible should be reduced to that of ordinary writings. A large class of questions vital to Mr. Picton's argument clearly turn upon its exact place and authority. It is not a question of scientific method —whether the first chapters of Genesis are historical, parabolic, or mythical. It is not a question of modes of inspiration or degrees of authority. The concurrent testimony of all the Bible writers and of our Lord Himself, is that in some way or other God is the creator of all things; and the question is whether the Bible has any authority to testify concerning the origins of man and the material universe. We are old-fashioned enough to say that whatever the method of creation, reproduction, or development, which science may demonstrate, we must maintain the great thesis alike of the Bible and of reason, that in a sense other than that of eternal adumbration the maker of all things is God.

Matter, Mr. Picton contends, is simply a phenomenal manifestation of God—pierce matter deep enough and the spiritual God is behind it. It had no beginning, it has no separate existence, it can have no end; it is a manifestation of the All and in all—as spiritual, therefore, and divine as the human soul. In the maintenance of this theory, the "atomic "theory" is denounced as essentially absurd and Atheistic: Mr. Huxley is vindicated as "one "of the most powerful opponents, and perhaps "the most completely armed, that materialism "ever had." Mr. Huxley's Protoplasm simply proves that "materialism and spiritualism "exhibit different aspects of the same ever-"lasting fact." "Thought is as much a func-"tion of matter as motion is," if matter be rightly understood. Bishop Berkeley is vindicated; sensation does not tell us what the physical world really is. A theory of evolution is admitted as unimportant, if science require it. The great thing is that matter is but a phenomenon of the spiritual, and that thus the chasm which science is interposing between itself and theology is bridged over. "Nothing," says Mr. Picton, "is really an explanation which can-"not be realised as such in consciousness." According to this axiom, Mr. Picton gives us no explanation—save in the sense in which all religious people recognise the expression of the divine character in nature. Mr. Picton's theory is to us simply unthinkable. Concerning man, Mr. Picton says:—"We cannot con-"ceive of the origin of man from God as essen-"tially and incommensurably different in mode "from that of the outward creation," because "the irrefragable evidence of creation's record "mingles the origins of man with those of all "organic life" (page 323). We do not exactly know what is meant by "creation's record." Whether Mr. Huxley's Protoplasm, Mr. Darwin's development, or geological fossils. But we humbly submit that science has in neither department, as yet, afforded evidence to justify the position, and if it should do so respecting physical man, the origin of his moral nature would still have to be accounted for. "We "cannot, then, adopt the expedient of "making the human spirit the breath of God, "while every material theory is supposed to be "the result of a creative fiat" (p. 324). Why not adopt the theory of the divine origin of the human spirit, which this poetic expression affirms? If it be rejected, what theory is proposed in its stead? Surely a moral development, from mere animal sensations and instincts, is as impossible and unthinkable as creation by a fiat or production by the breath of God. The philology of the first verse of Genesis does not decide the question of creation. It is assumed, or affirmed, throughout the Bible, Admitting to the full the difficulties of the creation theory, which Mr. Picton presses, we do not see that his own theory relieves them one iota.

Christ, Mr. Picton thinks is only the very highest phenomenal manifestation of God. His conception of whom and of the Spirit is virtually the old Sabellian conception of diverse manifestations. It calls us to fight an old battle over again. But he nowhere, in our judgment, so signally fails as in his attempt to reconcile the Scriptural teaching concerning Christ with his theory. Expiatory atonement he of necessity rejects altogether. In what way he would construe the New Testament teaching about the Incarnation is not clear. Apparently it must be rejected in every other than a phenomenal sense. But the New Testament doctrine concerning the person of Christ cannot be disposed of by mere affirmations of His spiritual transcendency and glory, which we all accept. The real question is the reality of His personal distinctness, His supernatural being, and His mediatorial work; and the relation of these to the religious life of men. Better, we think, reject the New Testament altogether as even fraudulently delusive in its teachings than thus resolve all that it says about Christ and His work, and all that Christ says about Himself, into merely the highest phenomenal manifestation of God. Reading the New Testament, even as a supremely religious book, our moral consciousness revolts from such an attenuation of its teachings and of Christ's claims. Admitting to the full all that Mr. Picton would maintain respecting the transcendency of the spiritual consciousness and its testimony, it does not follow that we are to regard "the 'evidences' as a name which we "are sometimes tempted to think must have been given in diabolic irony, by the phantom who "for ever denies." In the name of simple, historical inquiry, we ask why? Admitting the imperfect analogy of the argument from design, as Paley puts it—does it follow that it has no force as far as it goes? What is there really incompatible between a provision for overcoming difficulties as between creature and creature, and the omnipotence of the Creator. Is it forbidden to omnipotence to adapt means to ends? Why should not historic evidence have as much force in establishing religious facts of the past as secular facts? Granted, that it is not everything, is it therefore nothing?

Mr. Picton evidently feels that his chief difficulty is to reconcile his theory with the existence of moral evil. In a universe consisting entirely of phenomenal manifestations of God, moral evil is an awkward fact. It is the rock upon which every system of Pantheism must suffer shipwreck. Mr. Picton takes a purely negative position—Pantheism is not bound to account for everything any more than other theories are. True, but ordinary theology—Mr. Picton's slighting and somewhat evasive strictures notwithstanding—has a theory of the origin of moral evil which does positively relieve its difficulty to our thought. We cannot conceive of moral evil as a phenomenal manifestation of God, but we can conceive of it as a product of the moral freedom of the creature. This theory accounts for the act if not for the impulse—the mind can find a certain rest in it. Mr. Picton's theory accounts for neither impulse nor act. Moral evil cannot, like a record of a book, be denied; and Pantheistic theories cannot throw upon it a single ray of light.

We quite agree with Mr. Picton's admirable and eloquent vindication of the essential nature of religion, as consisting not in dogma, but in fealty of heart to the highest truth we know—and with his position that Christianity is loyalty of soul to that expression of the relations of God and man, which was set forth in Jesus Christ—only it does not account for the disturbing element of sin. The religious impulse drives us to find some practical expression for our conscious relation to God. Hence from Fetish worship to Christianity, through all stages of theological error and superstitions there have been religious men. In every nation, God hath them that fear Him and work righteousness, only devices for the atonement of guilt have sadly perplexed their struggle. He is a religious man whose soul is loyal to the best that he knows, and Mr. Picton is quite right in defining truth as this religious loyalty of soul. But in deposing dogma from the essential place that it has so often been made to usurp in religious cultus, he goes too far in its disparagement; and unnecessarily denies the distinctive supernatural authoritativeness of Christian dogma. Dogma is right knowing about our relations to God—and we can scarcely exaggerate the moral influence of right knowing upon right willing and feeling. And it is perfectly compatible with the position that loyalty of heart is the essence of religion that God should have given to men supernatural authoritative teaching concerning Himself and our relations to Him. Equally with the embodied religiousness of Christ, and supremely in and through the teaching of Christ, this may be a means of our highest religiousness. Mr. Picton is constrained to admit that Paul and John do make intellectual dogma essential to salvation. Men rejecting the doctrine of Christ, could not according to them be saved—but then Mr. Picton suggests Paul and John were not infallible. Hardly would his restricted definition of faith as simple loyalty of heart explain the first and third verses of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But then, again, the writer, whoever he was, was not infallible.

Mr. Picton's entire Pantheistic system has doubtless a certain coherence, and it is wrought out by him with great care, completeness, and beauty, but it demands the surrender, without cause shown, of our entire Biblical and, indeed, of ordinary theistic beliefs. The facts are against it. We doubt even whether to any important degree it can harmonise science and immediate phenomena; while assuredly the ultimate facts are left just where they were, as intractable to science as creationism, and far more repugnant to consciousness. We fail to see even the scientific gain, for the theory is as opposed to the creation of a protoplasm as of species, to evolutionism as to fixed types, and beyond protoplasm science can have no theory at all. It is a theory that demands a clear sweep of the stage for its construction. For the sake of a universal supernaturalism, if the solecism may be permitted, all distinctive revelations—nay, all divine acts of the Creator, must be denied. The Bible must be reduced to a common religious book, and Christ to a common creature—distinctive only in their religiousness, their phenomenal manifestation of God. All the conceptions of Bible teaching, all the religious utterings of Bible saints—even of Christ Himself are only remotely true, scarcely that to exact thought. We can say only that these requirements of Mr. Picton's theory can scarcely be conceded, without preliminary discussions, which are represented by the conflict of ages, and of which the beliefs of Christendom are the issues. In his anxiety to meet the demands of science he surrenders positions which involve difficulties far graver than those which he seeks to remove.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Cruise of the Rosario amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands. Exposing the Recent Atrocities Connected with the Kidnapping of Natives in the South Seas. By ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, Commander Royal Navy. With Map and Two Illustrations (Sampson Low and Co.) This is another of these somewhat gloomy books which show of what low descents white men are capable. Captain Markham manages to relieve the dark shade of his story by descriptions of scenery and pieces of adventure; but, though interesting to read, his book does not exactly exhilarate one. It seems that an organised system of kidnapping has for some time been going on in the smaller islands of the South Seas. There being a great demand in China and other places for sandalwood, several vessels engaged in the trade. For a little all went well; but by-and-by the crews had differences with the natives, and at once began mercilessly to shoot them down. Then the cultivation of cotton in Queensland and Fiji caused a great demand for labour, and soon crowds of natives were carried away from their homes by force to supply the market and carry on the labour of the plantations. They were shot down for making resistance, tempted by signals of friendship to the side of the ships, iron thrown into their canoes to break them up and sink them, and the poor creatures either seized or, if wounded, thrown into the sea. No wonder that the Home Government gave instructions to despatch a man-of-war to watch, and if possible stop, this inhuman traffic; but the practical part of the work was made difficult owing to the rules laid down "being "totally inadequate to grapple with this much-vexed "question." The details given as to the way in which the notorious Dr. Murray, who to secure his victims, took the disguise of a missionary, carried on his trade, are simply revolting. And yet, because of the way in which matters are managed in the colonial law courts, this ruffian was allowed to turn Queen's evidence, while two of his assistants, mere tools in his hands, were condemned. Captain Markham writes intelligently, and manages to convey very clear and accurate details on several points of geography. He seems to have fulfilled the mission to which he was appointed with no little determination, tact, and success.

The Modern Jove: a Review of the Collected Speeches of Pio Nino. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) Mr. Arthur, who is already well known as an anti-papistical writer, has found a good theme here. He reviews the doings of Pope Pius, and analyses his speeches with caustic clearness, and occasionally with almost cruel decision of tone. Some of the personal characteristics and opinions quoted are very plain, representing the Pope as untruthful, prevaricating, and unscrupulous. The following is perhaps worth quoting from Dr. Friedriech:—

"His slender education he ascribes partly to an epileptic condition in early years, and partly to dislike of study. His examination, he says, gave proof of crass ignorance; but he passed, because he was a count, and they believed that he would never hold any important office. A natural persuasiveness of manner gained him reputation as a preacher. . . . When Gregory XVI., after much importunity, consented to make him cardinal, he said, 'Very well; but I shall bear no blame, if he become Pope and ruin the Church.'"

There is something in Mr. Arthur's book that seems

to us extreme; but it is readable, and may in many cases be found useful.

The Covenant of Love. By A. M. JAMES, author of "Christian Counsels." (Hatchards.) The object of this little volume is purely devotional. It consists of a series of short readings, a prayer, and a hymn, on various topics, suited to various circumstances. The language is simple and refined, and the hymns are very well chosen.

The Story of Creation as told by Theology and Science. By T. S. ACKLAND, M.A., Vicar of Balne, Selby, Yorkshire. This is a very intelligent discussion of a very interesting but difficult question. Mr. Ackland has studied geology, astronomy, and physiology sufficiently to enable him to bring something of independence to the discussion of theories; and on one or two points he certainly seems to bear somewhat closely on Mr. Darwin, with whom, of necessity, he falls foul. The remarks at pp. 110, 111, are especially acute and well-directed. We have read the work with pleasure.

The Crowds of the Bible. By the Rev. W. H. JELLIE. (Simpkin and Co.) Mr. Jellie writes in a simple, pictorial, but very effective way. We are not sure that his exegesis is always sound; but he is generally interesting. His book will no doubt find many readers besides those to whom it is dedicated—as it deserves to do.

Our New House; or, Keeping up Appearances. By EMMA JANE WORBOISE. (James Clarke and Co.) Miss Worboise has never written either with more spirit or more purpose. The society of Argendale is well presented to us, and Church and Dissent are brought into something of contact and contrast. Her picture certainly does not say much for High-Churchism. There is a clearness and quiet grace about some parts of the story, that we regard as indicating perhaps more real power than in any other of Miss Worboise's recent works.

Hades; or, the Intermediate State of Man. By HENRY CONSTABLE, A.M. (Elliot Stock.) Mr. Constable has, in a series of works, devoted much labour and research to establishing from Scripture and other sources the real nature of the future state, and the present book is the result of his more exhaustive labours on one special point. He endeavours to demonstrate that Hades is really the word used in Scripture for death—that the intermediate state is a state of dull unconsciousness, and that it is only the resurrection of the believer that introduces him to eternal life—salvation. This, so far as we can gather, is in short the drift of Mr. Constable's argument, which is supported by no little learning, a keen logic and a clear and available style. We do not say that we accept his views in every detail; but there is a good deal to be said for the general doctrines propounded.

Miscellaneous.

The Shah of Persia has arrived at Moscow, and has been received with an enthusiastic welcome. He is not accompanied by his wives, and 200,000*l.* instead of five millions are set apart for his travelling expenses.

A telegram from St. Petersburg denies that there is any news of the taking of Khiva. At the date of the last official advices, the nearest column was several hundred miles from the appointed rendezvous, and over one month behind time.

Sir Bartle Frere and his suite arrived at Aden on Thursday in the mail steamer; all well. The members of the mission hope to reach England, by way of Venice, about the second week in June.

A cable telegram states that the Modocs have again evaded the United States troops. The mortars were placed in position to bombard the stronghold, and the troops were ready to attack, when the Indians escaped. The pursuit has been recommenced.

Mr. Froude presided at the annual dinner of the Newspaper Press Fund in London on Saturday night. The principal speakers were the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Houghton, and Mr. Anthony Trollope. Donations amounting to nearly 1,300*l.* were announced at the meeting.

In the Irish Court of Queen's Bench, yesterday, the hearing of the O'Keeffe libel case was continued, and Cardinal Cullen was further cross-examined by the plaintiff's leading counsel.

CANDID.—A Willenhall milk-dealer, thinking that his course of trading might render him amenable to the Adulteration Act, has apparently come to the conclusion that candour, like discretion, may become the better part of virtue. He has altered his sign from "dealer in milk" to "dealer in milk and water."—*Birmingham Post.*

CAUTION RESPECTING CHILDREN.—A little boy named Joseph Cavan, has died very suddenly at Dundee. It has been found that he was playing with a coloured miniature balloon, which burst, and he afterwards chewed the skin. It is believed that he was poisoned with the paint used in colouring the toy. He was eight years of age.

HOW TO DYE SILK, WOOL, FEATHERS, RIBBONS, &c., in ten minutes, without soiling the hands. Use Judson's Simple Dyes, eighteen colours, 6d. each, full instructions supplied. Of all chemists. The "Family Herald," Sept. 3, says, "A very slight acquaintance with Judson's Dyes will render their application clear to all."

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

MARRIAGES.

TURNER—MACNAIR.—May 8, at Portsmouth, by the Rev. John Mactaggart, the Rev. George Turner, LL.D., of the London Missionary Society, to Mary, daughter of Robert Galloway, Esq., Edinburgh, and widow of the late Rev. James Macnair, missionary in Eromanga.

SMITH—HUNT.—May 10, at Highbury Chapel, Cotham, Bristol, Alfred, son of the late J. Smith, of Rock House, Stapleton, to Mary Rider, daughter of E. Hunt, of Redland.

PEILL—DAVIES.—May 14, at Duckworth-street Congregational Chapel, Darwen, by the father of the bride, and the Rev. Jno. Peill, of Kendal, brother of the bridegroom, Jeremiah Peill, missionary (L.M.S.) to Madagascar, to Anna Penelope, eldest daughter of the Rev. T. Davies, Darwen. No cards.

PREACHERS.—Where large congregations have to be addressed, or the speaker is suffering from dryness of the throat organs, nothing will be found more effectual than Cooper's Effervescing Lozenges, or solid thirst quenchers, pronounced by the medical press the best invention extant. Sold in bottles, price 1s., by post 1s. 2d., at 26, Oxford-street, and by all respectable Chemists.

VALETUDO VISQUE LIBERIS.—"A preparation known as Dr. Ridge's Patent (cooked) Food is excellent for infants and invalids. It will be found a very useful preparation for making custards, puddings, and similar preparations for the nursery and sick room."—Extract from "Cassell's Household Guide." Supplied by most chemists and grocers in 1s. packets and 2s. 6d. tins.—Manufactory, Bermondsey, London.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Everybody's Wish.—One of the many causes of the eminent success of this medicine is the quiet purifying influence it exerts over the circulation. It watches over the new blood forming from the food, invigorates the distribution of the mature blood, and cuts out the old which has done its duty, and whose further presence becomes detrimental. By taking Holloway's Pills agreeably to their accompanying instructions, every person may obtain the best permissible state of health, without interfering materially with his usual habits, pleasures, or pursuits. The excellence of this medicine cannot be exaggerated, nor can anyone, who has not witnessed the marvellous effects upon the appetite and all the digestive organs, have a notion of the powers Holloway's treatment possesses for renewing health.

Advertisements.

TWO SISTERS, Daughters of a Congregational Minister, wish RE-ENGAGEMENTS as GOVERNESSES or COMPANIONS in Travel. Thorough English, French (acquired in Paris), German (in Germany by the elder), Music, Singing, Elementary Drawing. Address, W. N., Telegraph Newspaper Office, Maidstone.

NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Chase-side, Enfield, Middlesex (for the united congregations of Zion and Chase-side Chapels).—A BAZAAR in AID of the BUILDING FUND will be held (by favour of Colonel Somerset) in the Riding House, Enfield-court, on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of JULY. Contributions are earnestly solicited. Parcels may be sent to Mrs. H. S. Toms, the Manse, Enfield, N. Further particulars will be gladly furnished by the Secretary, James Hallevell, 11, Old Bailey, E.C.

TWO HUNDRED GUINEAS are offered to the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, by Two Friends, on condition that the remainder of the Sum of Two Thousand Guineas is promised during the month of May. The Committee earnestly appeal to the friends of the cause for aid in raising the above sum. Donations of any amount will be gratefully received.

LYDIA E. BECKER, Secretary.

28, Jackson's-row, Albert-square, Manchester.

RAGGED CHURCH AND CHAPEL UNION.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the above Society will be held in the LOWER ROOM, EXETER HALL, on TUESDAY EVENING, May 27th, 1873, at Seven o'clock.

The Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G., will preside.

The following Gentlemen will take part in the Meeting:—Rev R. J. Simpson, Rev. G. H. Stanton, Rev. J. O'Brien, and Dr. Barnado.

HUGH ALLEN, D.D., Hon. Sec.
WILLIAM A. BLAKE, Secretary.

4, Trafalgar-square, Charing Cross, London.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

EVIDENTIAL DISCOURSES at St. George's Hall, Langham-place. On MONDAY EVENING next, May 26th, an address will be given by the Rev. EDWARD GARBETT, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Surbiton, subject, "The Bible a Book for the World." The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock by the Hon. WILLIAM ASHLEY. Admission free. Subsequent Discourses as follows:—June 16th, Rev. Samuel Garratt, M.A., "Objections to Revealed Religion an Evidence of its Truth"; June 23rd, Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., "The Fulness of Times"; June 30th, Rev. W. Sanday, M.A., "Literary Criticism and Christian Belief"; July 7th, Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, "Present Aspect of Christian Evidences."

P. BARKER, M.A., Secretary.

2, Duke-street, Adelphi, W.C., May, 1873.

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HELP GREATLY NEEDED.—THE ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE for INFANTS, Hornsey Rise, is greatly in WANT of FUNDS. It has 116 infants under care, but there is ample room for 200. It is intended for 400. THE CHARITY HAS NO ENDOWMENT, NO FUNDED PROPERTY, BUT DEPENDS ENTIRELY UPON BENEVOLENT SUPPORT. At the present time, consequent upon high prices, the Committee are in great difficulty for want of funds.

Contributions are very earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received.

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The NINTH ANNUAL MEETING of GOVERNORS will be held at the CITY TERMINUS HOTEL, Cannon-street, on THURSDAY, May 22nd, 1873, to receive the Report of the Committee; to appoint Officers and Committee for the year ensuing, and to ELECT TWELVE INFANTS, the Two Girls who receive the highest number of votes to be retained until sixteen years of age.

THOMAS WHITE, Esq., Alderman and Sheriff, will preside.

The Chair will be taken at Twelve o'clock, the Election of Children will commence as soon as the General Business is disposed of. The Poll will be closed at Two o'clock precisely, after which hour no Votes can be recorded.

JOSEPH SOUL, Honorary Secretary.

Office, 73, Cheapside, E.C.

VIENNA EXHIBITION.

VISITORS to this Exhibition are respectfully informed that they may obtain at No. 10, Rothenthurm Strasse, the illustrated and other publications of Messrs. Partridge and Co., the Dublin Tract Society, the Monthly Tract Society, the Sunday School Union, in various languages, with English and Foreign Wall Sheets, the "Children's Friend," and the 'British Workman," &c., &c.

ALEXANDRA PALACE.—Alexandra Palace and Park will be OPENED on SATURDAY, MAY 24, on which occasion there will be a GRAND CONCERT, under the direction of Sir MICHAEL COSTA, at which the following distinguished artistes will assist:—Mdlle. Titiens, Mdlle. Natalie Carola, Madame Trebelli-Bettini, Signor Campanini, Signor Borella, and Signor Agnesi Full Band and Chorus. One Thousand Performers. Organist, Mr. FREDERIC ARCHER.

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Admission, by Tickets purchased before the day, Five Shillings; by payment at the doors, Seven Shillings and Sixpence. Season Tickets admit to the Opening Festival. Season Tickets, One Guinea, are now ready. Each holder of a Guinea Ticket will receive a Share in the Alexandra Palace Art Union. Five Shillings of each Guinea will be set aside to form a Fund for the Purchase of Pictures and Works of Art, to be drawn for annually in May.

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MIDLAND RAILWAY.

TOURIST ARRANGEMENTS, 1873.

Arrangements for the issue of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class Tourist Tickets, will be in force from May 26th to the 31st October, 1873.

For particulars see Time Tables and Programmes issued by the Company.

JAMES ALLPORT, General Manager.

Derby, May 17, 1873.

WIESBADEN.—Villa, No. 8, Park Strasse, Wiesbaden. EDUCATION for YOUNG LADIES. This Establishment, conducted by Miss MACLEA, and attended by eminent masters, offers a superior German education, combined with all the comforts of a Christian home. References kindly permitted to Charles Henderson, Esq., Royal Terrace, Edinburgh; Rev. James Smith, M.A., Sheffield; Professor Fielding, Rotherham; Rev. E. Codd, Inchbrook Vicarage, Leamington, Arthur Marshall, Esq., Mount Pleasant, Hornsey, London; and to parents of former pupils, on application to Miss Maclea.

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LADIES' SCHOOL, conducted by the Misses HEWITT, assisted by superior English and Foreign Masters.

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MILL HILL SCHOOL, MIDDLESEX.

NEW FOUNDATION DAY, WEDNESDAY, the 11th of JUNE, 1873.

THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P., Author of "Tom Brown's School Days" has kindly consented to preside, and

The Rev. HENRY ALLON, D.D., to act as Vice-President.

PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

Ten o'Clock.—Cricket Match between First Eleven and Second Eleven, the latter supplemented by Visitors.

One o'Clock.—The Boys' Dinner, in a Marquee erected in the Playfield.

Half-past Two.—Luncheon in the Dining Hall.

At Half-past Four the New Organ will be opened by WALLIS NASH, Esq., and Messrs. NIEDERHEITMANN and PAYNE.

Five o'Clock.—Brief Report by the Head-Master, R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq, D. Lit., M.A., and Distribution of Prizes and Certificates in the Chapel by THOMAS HUGHES, Esq, M.P. (The Prizes, as well as Drawings, Botanical Collections, Specimens of Writing, &c., will be on view all day in the Chapel until Four o'Clock.)

Six o'Clock —Tea and coffee.

In the Evening.—Choral Music in the Chapel, and various games—bowls, croquet, quoits, &c.—on the Lawn and in the Playfield.

Omnibuses will meet all trains arriving at and departing from the Great Northern Station, Mill-hill, between Noon and Ten P.M.

N.B.—Application for Tickets for the luncheon to be addressed to the "Secretary, Mill Hill School, Middlesex, N.W," not later than Wednesday, the 4th June. Gentlemen, Seven Shillings and Sixpence; Ladies, Five Shillings. Tickets to be produced on entering the Hall.

ROBERT H. MARTEN, B.A., Secretary.

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The New School Building is now occupied, giving space for a larger number of Pupils. It contains a schoolroom 50ft. by 20ft., classroom, bathroom, and lavatory (all heated by hot water), together with additional bedrooms.

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A. D. CAMPBELL, Esq., Associate of the Royal College of Preceptors.
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Petitions against Mr. Miall's motion for Disestablishment were presented, by Mr. Raikes (36), from Monmouth, St. David's, Llandaff, Carmarthen, and other places; by Mr. Hardy, from 15,500 ratepayers and inhabitants of Bradford; by Lord Mahon, from Ilketshall St. Margaret, Benhall, Boyton, and Capel St. Mary; by Colonel Wilson Patten, from Blackpool and Wrightington; by Mr. Read, from the Churchman's Club, Norwich; by Colonel Hogg, from Nevin; by Mr. Tipping, from Stockport; and by Mr. Knight (2), from Kidderminster.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply,

Mr. MIALL rose to move the following amendment:—

That the establishment by law of the Churches of England and Scotland involves a violation of religious equality, deprives those Churches of the right of self-government, imposes upon Parliament duties which it is not qualified to discharge, and is hurtful to the religious and political interests of the community, and, therefore, ought no longer to be maintained.

The hon. member said: Sir, I am quite aware, that in moving the amendment of which I have given notice, I am taking a step not very likely to secure the concurrence of a majority of this House. But my experience of the kindness of the House in times past warrants my confidence that in discharging a duty which I would gladly escape, but which my sense of which is due to the trust reposed in me by others will not permit me to evade, I may count upon that forbearance which this House always shows to any of its members who have a specially difficult task to perform, and who but seldom, and then most unwillingly, trespass upon its patience. (Hear, hear.) I am going to submit to its consideration an abstract resolution—abstract, that is to say, in its verbal form, but not in its bearing upon ulterior legislative results. Happily for the country, I lack an advantage which the right hon. gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government had when he brought forward—with what practical effect we all know—his abstract resolution on the question of the Irish Church. No crime of violence, no atrocious outrage, such as the attack, in broad daylight, upon the prison van at Manchester, or the blowing in by gunpowder of the walls of Clerkenwell gaol, has been perpetrated by the friends of Disestablishment in England—(Hear, hear)—or has stimulated Parliament, whether consciously or unconsciously, to that high degree of susceptibility to the claims of justice which, in 1868, after many years of persistent negligence, spontaneously recognised a clear political obligation. There is no dark background of Nonconformist sedition—and I am devoutly thankful for it—to set off, with artificial vividness, the practical meaning of my resolution. Perhaps, sir, this is one main reason why the prospect of religious equality in England appears a far-off thing, or, in the words of the right hon. gentleman, "so remote from the wishes of the people of England, as to deprive it of much of that interest and reality which we recognise when we are dealing with questions that have relation to results, and are within our power and faculty of calculation." Still, the House, and the right hon. gentleman who leads it with such well-deserved authority, will forgive me, I trust, if I suggest the propriety of a division of labour, to this extent at least—that whilst it is the special duty of statesmen in office to deal with questions made ready to their hands whether by their own work, or by the work of other men, it may also be the duty of hon. members occupying, like myself, a private and unofficial position in this House, to spend their days in preparing for official statesmen the materials which, when opportunity serves, or necessity impels, are required for building up a great national policy. It is true, Sir, that I do but ask the assent of the House on the present occasion to sundry propositions of a theoretical description, but it does not necessarily follow that I am, on that account, as "one that beats the air." That is a low view of the functions of Parliament which assigns to it the framing of new laws or the passing of annual estimates as its sole or even its chief business. I am fortunate in being able to plead the high sanction of the right hon. member for Bucks in claiming for the deliberations of this House a wider sphere. It is the supreme Council of the State. No small portion of its work consists in the discussion of those principles by which the policy of the nation should be guided. To a very considerable extent the debates of this and the other House of Parliament serve to enlighten the judgment and sway the will of the constituent bodies. It savours of pedantry to assume that because a question is placed before the House in an abstract form, it must necessarily be a sheer waste of time for the House to consider it in a practical spirit. No doubt the natural, I was going to say the inevitable, bent of this House—for we are all more or less sensible of it—is to underrate any motion which does not lead on forthwith to legislative action. Yet, sir, some of the grandest passages in our national history took their rise in the Parliamentary discussion of abstract principles. It is my hope, sir—a hope which I trust we shall all strive to realise—that every word contributed to the present debate will help on action hereafter, and that the speeches of hon. members will do not a little to ripen public opinion on the greatest question of the age. (Cheers.) That question, sir, is one the immense importance of which, I presume to believe, is fully appreciated by the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government. He doesn't do himself justice, he doesn't fairly represent the feeling with which he has long been wont to look upon this subject, when, as was the case last year, he resorts to banter, good-humoured though it be to push it aside from his path. I am confident he concurs with me in thinking that the relation in which the civil power should stand towards the organisations of Christian life in this country, presents a political problem the solution of which will demand the highest efforts of modern statesmanship. To harmonise the constitutional and legal expression of that relationship with the sentiment of justice, and with the irrepressible instincts of spiritual manhood, is an enterprise worthy of the loftiest, the purest, and the most patriotic ambition. The right hon. gentleman will not deny, I imagine, that there is something anomalous, startling to one's reason, and manifestly out of keeping not less with the spirit of the age than with the genius of the Christian faith, in the existing forms of contact between the secular and the ecclesiastical authority in this country. He will hardly base his support of the English and Scotch Churches upon the intrinsic merits of the Establishment system. He *may* say that there is no obvious necessity for disturbing the relative position of these ancient institutions to the State, merely because they are incapable of a logical defence. But, sir, does the right hon. gentleman hope, does the House hope, do either of the Established Churches hope, to wall out by any such plea the pressure of opinion which is rapidly closing in upon this question? (Hear, hear.) Why, sir, what is it which so steadily and so irresistibly moves it to the front? Not hostility, nor even indifference to religion on the part of either of the contending bodies. On the contrary, it is their deep interest in religion. It is their wish to do it homage. It is no spasmodic outburst of political restlessness which may be expected to exhaust its strength, and then pass away. If it were, the right hon. gentleman might be justified in encouraging the House to pooh-pooh the whole question, to evade it, to dismiss it with banter and raillery, as abstract, visionary, and beyond the domain of practical politics. But a question of such inherent importance, of such ever-increasing and all-pervasive moral pressure, and which is certain to change, more or less, the mutual position of parties at the next general election, will not, I trust, be refused serious discussion on the pretext that it is an abstract proposition, fit only in its present stage to enlist the functions of a debating society. (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, the position I am going to ask the House to recognise is that the establishment by law of the English and Scotch Churches is unjust, impolitic, and practically injurious, both in regard to the temporal and spiritual interests of the nation. I pledge myself to the House that in endeavouring to substantiate the propositions affirmed in my motion, I will keep a keen look out both in regard to its time and its patience. When, towards the close of last session, I gave notice of the resolution which you, sir, will presently put from the chair, as an amendment on the order of the day, the first question that was levelled at me from every loophole of Church Defence Associations was, "What *is* religious equality, and in what respect is it violated by our state establishments of religion?" I frankly confess, sir, I was wholly taken aback by the question. I had not expected to have been assailed by it. It seemed to me very much like a sudden return to the use of bows and arrows after the adoption by the nation of rifled musketry and cannon. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I don't mean, by attempting a logical analysis of the phrase, to lay myself open to the thrust of so obsolete a weapon. After the time spent by Parliament in putting on the Statute Book, in a grandly elaborate and practical form, the nation's reply to this question, why should I be catechised with regard to it? Religious equality has precisely the same meaning in relation to the English and Scotch Churches, as it had in the first session of the present Parliament to the Irish Church. The best answer I can give to the question, "What is religious equality?" and, to all practical purposes, the sufficing answer is, "*Vide* the Irish Church Act *passim*." I don't say that it may not be plausibly contended that it is possible to connect the religious institutions of a people with the supreme authority of the State in such wise as not to raise the question of religious equality at all. The possibility I do not admit, but I have no need whatever to contest it. It lies outside the scope of my motion. My contention is that, as a matter of fact, the two Church Establishments against which my motion is directed, and more emphatically the Church of England, do violate the principle of religious equality. Surely, the allegation will not be denied in this House. The clerical mouthpieces of Church Defence Associations may challenge the assertion, but very few men who care to look back to the general election of 1868 will do so. No Dissenter, *e.g.* is equal in the eye of the law, in respect of his religious aspirations and sympathies—I speak now not by way of complaint, but of illustration—with, say, the hon. member for Cambridge University. The ecclesiastical community to which he is attached is

represented by upwards of a score of Church dignitaries. The creeds of his Church are stamped with the authority of the nation. In every parish of the kingdom a minister of his Church is maintained, out of national resources—("Hear, hear," and "No, no")—and speaks to his parishioners on religious topics in the name of the State. The Dissenter, on behalf of whose Church the State has done nothing, but which in every parish it has set and supports a man pledged to oppose, and lacking for his religious convictions, beliefs, and interests the prestige which is given by law to the Churchman—is he to be told that he is on an equal footing with all others in this matter? Sir, our so-called national churches may plead that they satisfy the demands of piety, of charity, of policy, but it can hardly be pretended that they embody the sentiment of religious equality. So far as law is concerned, they may perhaps be as tolerant as law can make them. Even in regard to religious liberty, some people may say that our State Churches trespass across the frontier only here and there, and then merely in pursuit of comparative trifles. But, sir, these ecclesiastical establishments, in their conception, in their structure, in the spirit and modes of their working, ignore, and, in ignoring, trample upon, the more recently developed sentiment of equality. (Cheers.) Don't let the House make light of the sentiment, because it is only of late that it has been fully developed. It has always existed as an aspiration of conscience, even when prevented by the unripe condition of society from asserting itself. There have been times, it should be borne in mind, reaching down to a late period in the world's history, when the natural right of a man, even to personal freedom, was commonly regarded as too flimsy an abstraction to claim serious recognition at the hands of ruling statesmen. Our forefathers not only held slaves, but subjected them to the lash, without any compunction, not because they were more cruel in their disposition or despotic in their temper than we, but because they had not passed under the refining operation of the same civilising agencies. Religious equality, it is true, is the last discovered of human birthrights, but it is not, on that account, the least valuable of them. Very probably, sir, I shall be told that religious equality amounts to nothing more than a mere sentiment, and that the violation of it by the law of the land, is but the enactment of a policy to which that sentiment is hostile. In which of their material and tangible interests, I may be asked, are any of Her Majesty's subjects injured by the existence of State Churches such as that of England or of Scotland? Even admitting that the system is not without theoretical offence, what does it hurt but the fancy of those who object to it? What practical grievance can they allege against it? In what respect does it cripple their religious freedom? What motive can prompt them to demand what they are pleased to call "religious equality," but what in reality means the disestablishment and disendowment of the established Churches, but jealousy, or envy of their superior position? What do they want but to drag down those Churches to a level with their own? Sir, it is easy enough to impute mean and despicable motives to opponents—but it is not always logically safe. (Hear, hear.) There is only one way in which Parliament can drag down the Churches established by law to a level with the sects not established by law. Their piety, their learning, their spiritual zeal, their religious aptitude to do their work—why, inasmuch as State favour never gave them these qualifications, so the withdrawal of State favour cannot take them away. No legislature can deprive them of any superiority over the non-established Churches which in regard to such things they may really possess. No, sir, but the protest which is urged by State Churches against being dragged down to the level of the sects, represents, in its vehemence, the tenacity with which they cling to their exceptional privileges. It is nothing less than an unguarded confession by the members of the Establishments that, in respect of their religious affairs, the laws of the realm have placed them in a position of assumed advantage above that conceded to the members of any other religious community. Well, now, is our grievance a whit more sentimental or fanciful than their privilege? Does not the one correspond with the other in that respect, as the obverse and reverse faces of the same coin? But, sir, even if I were to admit that in upholding its present ecclesiastical policy, Parliament abets nothing worse than a sentimental grievance, there might be, and, as I contend, there would be ample ground for sustaining the resolution which I am about to submit to the House. Sir, the violation of religious equality by the constitution of the realm, inflicts a double injury. It wraps up in itself the germ of a twofold cause of discord. It worsens those whom it favours; it depresses and angers those whom it wrongs; and it does both in the name of Christianity. (Hear, hear.) As to its deteriorating effect upon the class lifted by it into ecclesiastical ascendancy, the House perhaps, will permit me to avail myself of an illustration pictured by the vivid insight into the workings of human nature of our unrivalled and immortal dramatist. The character of Antonio, the "Merchant of Venice," as drawn by Shakespeare, is conspicuous for its eminently noble generosity, its disinterestedness, and tenderness of affection. And yet it is to him that, in response to a request for a loan of money, Shylock replies:—

> Shall I bend low, and in a bondsman's key,
> With 'bated breath and whispering humbleness,
> Say this——
> Fair sir, you spat on me on Wednesday last;
> You spurned me such a day; another time
> You called me dog: and for these courtesies
> I'll lend you thus much monies.

The reply of the Venetian merchant shows him to have been utterly unaware that his whole demeanour and bearing towards the Jew had been one of impertinent, intolerant, and intolerable assumption. Nevertheless this is one of the most natural results of State favouritism in religion. It breeds in those who are patronised by it— even in the kindliest of them, and, often too, without awakening their consciousness—the spirit of *caste*, than which nothing ought to be more steadily frowned upon by statesmen—because nothing more surely saps the moral vigour of a State. (Cheers.) "Only a sentimental wrong," forsooth, in the case of those whom the system casts into the shade and ignores! Sir, let me give greater exactness to the phrase. The truer way of putting it would be, "Only an affront offered by law to religious sentiment," and felt to be such by one half of Her Majesty's subjects in Great Britain. Well but, sir, are we to infer that it is not worth our while to protest against and resent any inequality inflicted by law but such as may affect us in a matter of bread-and-cheese, or of taxation, or of commerce, or of our physical interests? Surely, sir, history must have taught every one of us that the policy—whatever may be its other recommendations—which tramples upon the religious sentiment of any large portion of the people, is the most dangerous which a Cabinet can favour. It drives the iron into the soul. If it be a mistake, it is a mistake in that region in which thought is most in earnest, and feeling is most sensitive. "Sentimental wrongs," indeed! Why, sir, what wrongs of a grosser and more material kind have ever evoked so passionate a resentment? Sir, I will go one step further. I will venture to ask what wrongs are there which men in general are so disposed to resent with a spirit regardless of personal consequences? At any rate, it does not behove prudent and far-seeing statesmen to deal with them as if they were merely the *ignes fatui* of a disordered imagination. The sense of religious equality, having been once recognised and responded to by Parliament, cannot now be outraged, whether sportively or in earnest, without kindling a resentment, which, at no very distant time hereafter, will be extremely embarrassing to the ruling power of the State. One word more, sir, before I quit this part of the question. What religious equality means, and how it is disregarded in the maintenance of State Establishments of religion, are matters pretty clearly comprehended by the constituencies, and, in the course of a year or two, will be thoroughly understood. (Cheers.) Hon. members on the other side of the House may fairly do their utmost to obstruct the further development of this principle. But to those who sit on this side I may be permitted (I hope without offence), to suggest that religious equality is in strict keeping with the entire framework of Liberal policy which they have helped by past legislation to construct, and that, unready as they may be just now to give it the sanction of their vote, they will find themselves obliged before very long, either to fight against the natural and logical outcome of their own political principles, or manfully go with them to their ultimate issues. (Cheers.) I pass on to another topic. Once more I crave your forbearance—not so much on account of the time I shall feel it necessary to occupy, as on account of the delicacy of the subject to which I shall invite your consideration. As I have said, the establishment by law of the Churches in question carries with it State favouritism to one section of the community, and injustice to the rest. Well, from the wrong done to the people at large in their political capacity, I go on to make a remark or two upon the helplessness inflicted upon the churches themselves, as spiritual organisations. For the time being, and for convenience' sake, I shall confine my observations to the Church of England. (Laughter.) Not a word will pass my lips disrespectful to that Church, as a Church—(Hear, hear)—not a word disparaging any of the parties or schools of thought, as I believe they are now called, which remain within her pale. In certain points of doctrine, as well as discipline, and by shades of belief more or less marked, it is true, I dissent from her standards. But the area of belief, worship, and practice, over which I sympathise with her members, is much broader than that over which our differences extend. It is for the sake of her own future, for the sake of religion in the land, I would call upon the House to help her out of a position which neutralises her proper authority, and cripples her powers of usefulness. (Hear, hear.) Am I alone, sir, in cherishing this desire on her behalf? Are there not large numbers of her own devoted members—High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church—who deem it impossible for her to do, as she would, the work she is especially qualified to do, so long as she is tongue-tied and hand-bound by legal restraints? Why, what is the meaning of the cry for Church Reform, as against Disestablishment,—in which Episcopal voices may be heard mingling with those of the clergy and laity—but a confession that the law of the land prevents her from doing the things that she would? She resembles, in fact, a body to which life is returning after a long swoon, whose powers are not yet free to act, and whose sensations of vitality have not yet got beyond the stage vulgarly designated as "pins and needles." (Cheers.) Her groans are as continuous as they are distressing. Motions in this and the other House of Parliament—speeches in both Houses of Convocation—papers read before Church Congresses, general and diocesan—visitation charges—electioneering addresses, and pamphlets innumerable,—all reiterate the complaint that the Church is hampered and shackled by the State in the prosecution of her spiritual enterprise. (Cheers.) She cannot organise her own machinery; she cannot increase the number of her episcopate; she cannot select her own chief rulers; she cannot put in force any system of self-regulative discipline; she cannot revise her own formularies; she cannot adopt a new lectionary; she cannot shorten her occasional services; she cannot even utter a prayer for Royalty in anguish; she cannot remove the scandals of patronage, nor prohibit the open sale of advowsons in the market—(cheers)—nor adapt her methods to the ever-varying needs of the population, without having recourse to a secular authority or a secular legislature in which all shades of religious belief and no-belief are represented. Sir, I might enliven my strain of remark by striking illustrations of every allegation which I have made. But, mindful of your time, I advisedly refrain from doing so. I take it to be unnecessary. There are but few members of the Church of England, I imagine, who will not admit that she is prosecuting her spiritual mission under legal restraints, the removal of which would largely conduce to the main objects for which a Church Establishment is supposed to exist. (Hear, hear.) But, sir, I am likely enough to be told during the course of this debate, and emphatically, perhaps, by my hon. friend the member for Frome, that the Church Establishment, deprived of the right of self-government, or, at any rate, greatly restricted in its exercise, by the closeness of its relation to the State, secures a wider freedom of religious thought than would be enjoyed under any other arrangement. (Hear, hear.) Well, I ought to be, and I trust I am, one of the last men to undervalue freedom of religious thought in its utmost breadth—and not of religious thought only, but of religious profession and action. But let us rid our minds of all cant in this matter. In what sense am I, or any other subject of the realm, more free to think, speak, and act in regard to spiritual affairs, in consequence of the patronage and support given by law to the clergy of the Church of England, even if they should be chartered by judicial decisions to teach anything they please? Is there no other way by which we can obtain freedom of thought, than by first pinning down the professional exponents of that thought to ancient creeds, formularies, and articles of religion, and then loosening the pin by strained interpretations of their purport? (Cheers.) Suppose this nation, convinced of the futility of all its attempts to regulate spiritual thought by means of law, were to resolve, (as resolve I feel sure it one day will—(cheers)—to) leave religious thought and action to run their own course without aid or interference from the State, wherein would religious

thought be less free than now? Is it less free in our colonies than here at home? Is it less free with us than in the great republic of America? Is it less free in Ireland since disestablishment than it was prior to it? Think, for a moment, of the recent controversy, not yet concluded, on the retention of the Athanasian creed in the public service of the Church. On the merits or demerits of that creed I have nothing to say in this House. The memorial subscribed in response to the invitation of the Earl of Shaftesbury proves that a very considerable proportion of the more highly cultivated laity of the Church of England—whether a majority or not I do not presume even to surmise—are anxious to relegate it to a more retired position among the standards of the Church. But, sir, even if they were ten times as numerous as they are, they could not gain their object but through an alteration of the law. Fancy their coming for such a purpose to this House! What the House would do in the case I will not take upon me to say. But of this I am sure, that, constituted as it is, and representing what it does, this House is not competent to legislate on any such matter. (Hear, hear.) "In fact," as the Marquis of Salisbury—with whom I don't always agree—told a public meeting at St. James's Hall some time since, "the thing might be set aside as being that which, in the present condition of the English Government, and with the present relations of Church and State, would be wholly impossible to carry out." Practically considered, the Church "as by law established," whether we have regard to her teaching or her government, is what the Legislature may choose to make her. The Legislature, at least in this branch of it, is what the constituencies may choose to make it. The constituencies are more or less divided into Conformists and Nonconformists, with a very liberal admixture of such as stand outside the pale of all religious organisations. But it is with the constituencies, in the last resort, that judgment rests as to what the Church shall be legally authorised to say or do. Her subordination to the State has reduced her to a condition of hopeless helplessness in regard to the management of her own affairs. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the work which she has in hand, in common with the non-established Churches, is one of such stupendous and growing magnitude, and is so largely dependent for its success upon the kind of influences she must needs employ in the doing of it, as to require that all such influences should be practically, visibly, and beyond all possibility of suspicion, of her own will, and under her own control. Compelled to come to Parliament for almost every adaptation of her machinery to the changed and changing social condition of the times, she loses by every repetition of the process something of that mingled dignity and persuasiveness which tells most powerfully upon those whom she undertakes to direct in spiritual things. (Hear, hear.) To have her most trivial as well as her most momentous concerns bandied about in both Houses of Parliament by differing ecclesiastical sections and political parties would, one would think, be as wounding to her self-respect, as to not a few who are outside her pale as a religious community it seems to be humiliating. The result most to be deplored, however, is that to large sections of the population the exalted and beneficent purpose of the Church herself is lost sight of in the notion that she is the creature of State policy, that she is a branch of the Civil Service, and that "her thinkings are below the moon." And now, sir, a word or two as to the qualification of Parliament to perform those duties which the incorporation of the English and Scotch Churches with the State implicitly and actually imposes upon it. Sir, I am not one of those who are inclined to detract from either the dignity or the wisdom of Parliament. Of course, nothing human is faultless. No arrangement devised by the wit of man is without its drawback of disadvantages. Within its proper sphere, there is no institution in the world, I believe, that secures a larger amount of good government—or in other words of order combined with freedom—than this Imperial Legislature. But, sir, the true dignity of Parliament lies in its fitness to do its own work, and not in the height or the breadth or the universality of its pretensions. The swan, which is the most exquisitely graceful of aquatic birds when floating on the surface of the pool, is also the awkwardest, the most helpless, and the most ridiculous in its movements upon dry land. Sir, Parliament has never excelled in ecclesiastical legislation. No one can be moved to contemplate with patriotic pride, the fruit of its wisdom in that department of work. How should it be otherwise? It belongs to the State to command and to coerce—it belongs to the Church to convince and to persuade. The spirit, the methods, the machinery of the one differ *toto cælo* from those of the other. (Hear, hear.) Why is it that this House exhibits such a strong distaste for religious discussions? Not because its members are devoid of religious sympathies, but because it feels that religious discussion is outside the range of its proper business. It was not elected for any such purpose. It is not representative of any such purpose. It is not specially qualified to pursue any such purpose, and in attempting to further any such purpose, it is aware that in all likelihood it would do more harm than good. It therefore wisely abstains—at least to a large extent—from taking active part in engagements which would lower it in its own self-respect. But, sir, the theory of the constitution imposes upon this and the other House of Parliament, the responsibility of making such laws as may be required for the well-being of the Church. And what is the practical outcome of that theory? Why, that in regard to all serious matters affecting her welfare statesman have wisely judged it to be expedient—at least for a long time past—to avoid making any appeal to Parliament at all. In these days, changes of vital moment, such as the state of parties in the Established Church, appears from time to time to demand, are legalised, not by the declared will of the Legislature, but by the interpretations of the Judicial Committee. We shirk the duties which we claim to be ours, and we devolve them upon a virtually irresponsible tribunal. We do well, sir. Silence best becomes us in respect of these transcendental questions. But might we not do still better by giving up pretensions which we do not, and cannot, sustain? It is only in petty affairs—affairs which might be much more suitably transacted by vestries—that Parliament is called upon to intervene in consequence of the connection of Church and State. Little Bills there have been in plenty to clog the orders of the day, to waste our time, and to try our tempers. It will be unnecessary to run over, even in the most cursory manner, the several objects of these proposed measures. Some of these may be good, others of them may be doubtful, but none of them do more than touch the skirts of our ecclesiastical policy, the darning and mending of which where they are frayed, seems to be thought a suitable occupation for the Imperial Parliament. Sir, the broad effects of the policy of Church Establishments upon the community, civil and religious, can only be roughly estimated. I don't deny that as a spiritual organisation, the Church has done much work for which the country has to be thankful. But I do say that the incorporation of the Church with the State, and the exclusive civil privileges conferred upon her by law, would be unfairly credited with those beneficial results by which even an imperfect inculcation of Christian truth is sure to be followed. On the other hand, it is not to the Church but to the invidious and exclusive position in which her Establishment places her that her opposition to almost every movement for the extension of popular freedom may, I think, be distinctly traced. In the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly to soften the severities of the criminal code; in the denunciation of the slave-trade by Wilberforce; in the first attempts made by Lancaster to provide education for the poorer classes; in the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts; in the concession of Catholic emancipation; in the almost revolutionary struggle which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832; in the repeal of the Corn Laws; in the promotion of free trade; in the admission of Jews to this House; and in the measures deemed necessary for the pacification of Ireland, the influence of the Established Church, as a whole, was uniformly hostile—(loud cheers)—and if it could have prevailed over the sounder judgment of the public would have largely obstructed the progress of the kingdom in civilisation and material prosperity. (Loud cheers.) No doubt, within the last half-century the clergy have made great sacrifices in the work of popular education, thereby more than making up, perhaps, for that attitude of distrust which they originally displayed. But even now the Establishment stands in the way of a complete system of national education. (Hear, hear.) One might be disposed to condone these untoward facts, if the Church had been successful in compassing the primary object which it should have had in view. But, sir, there is no concealing from ourselves the fact that the vast mass of the lower stratum of our population has been, and is, estranged from the public ministrations of religion, both in towns and in the country, to an extent which casts an ominous shadow over the future. (Hear, hear.) Sir, with the best of intentions we have gone the wrong way to work. We have tried to substitute manufacture for growth. We have laid our main stress upon the perfection of our machinery, and have depended too little upon the spirit, the life, and the energy with which it should have been worked. We must reverse our policy if we would really gain our end. Not all of a sudden, indeed. That is not the meaning of my resolution. But it is not too early for us to know our own mind, nor too precipitate for us to express it with decision. Let us determine upon the principle upon which to base our policy for the future, and wise statesmanship will, of course, choose the most fitting opportunity and means for carrying it into effect. (Cheers.) And now, if the House will kindly bear with me for a moment or two longer, I shall thankfully relieve it from the strain I have most reluctantly put upon its patience. This House, sir, if I may so say, is the foremost representative of the State; and in temper, in spirit, in law, is designed to express its matured judgment and will, in all matters which involve justice between class and class, or between man and man, and, therefore, to guarantee all that protection for freedom, intellectual, moral, and religious, which it is qualified to secure. Sir, in matters of religion, justice to all is equivalent to freedom for every individual. To see justice done to all, is the primary duty of the State. No institution, however good its purpose, however consecrated by its age and its historical associations, which does not rest upon an ultimate basis of justice, can, at least in these days, hope to achieve the ends which it is the duty of the State to contemplate. Above and beyond all, that institution whose mission it is to dispel ignorance and prejudice in regard to the truths of the Christian revelation, parts with the most potent arm of its strength when it ceases to exhibit a sensitive regard to justice. Failing in this, whether in its structural basis, its method of support, or its bearing towards such as are outside its pale, it will necessarily fail in getting or keeping hold upon the deepest sympathy of the nation—for where the claims of justice are considered, human perceptions are all but intuitive. Well, sir, in advocating Disestablishment, we look to the law, and, consequently, to the Legislature, for nothing more than justice. Tell us that the State ought to recognise religion, when you have first done homage to that justice which has its source and its home in the bosom of the Supreme. Justice, in the name, and for the sake, of our common Christianity, is the foundation on which I rest my demand. (Cheers.) You may postpone it for a while; but in the end, here, as in Ireland, you will yield to its force. With unutterable thanks to the House for having borne with me so indulgently, I beg to move, sir, the resolution which stands on the notice paper in my name. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. M'LAREN, in seconding the motion, said the principle of disestablishment had been so clearly laid down and its advantages shown by the hon. member for Bradford, that he should say nothing on that part of the question. The feeling in Scotland was very strong respecting disestablishment and disendowment. That feeling was held by nearly all the Dissenting bodies, and many lay members of the Established Church were equally in favour of it. The Free Church, which was the most important body in Scotland, was divided on the subject, the minority supporting the theory of a State Church, coupled with entire independence. The next largest body, the United Presbyterians, had been for many years in favour of disestablishment. The matter was put in the very shortest possible compass respecting their views in a petition which he presented a few days ago from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and which he read to the House:—

That it is not the province of civil government to provide for the religious instruction of the subject, but that religion should be maintained by the voluntary liberality and exertions of religious men: That Established Churches are unjust and oppressive, adverse to civil freedom and an equitable distribution of political power; that they are a fruitful source of uneasiness, jealousy and strife among subjects, and prejudicial to the best interests of religion.

The other Dissenting bodies generally held very similar views. For the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches he did not profess to speak; but seeing that their creed refused to believe that the ministers of the Scotch Church were a properly constituted ministry, or that their Church was a true Church of Christ, it might be inferred that they would not be grieved by its abolition. The disestablishment and disendowment question began to be vigorously advocated in Scotland forty years ago, and was continued up to the Free Church disruption in 1843. It had permeated nearly every Dissenting congregation. At that time a strong feeling of sympathy for the seceding Free Church ministers who had taken the opposite side in the controversy induced the Dissenters to proclaim a truce as soon as they had seceded. But the agitation had commenced again in right earnest, and he was persuaded that it would never cease till the Church of Scotland was placed in the same position as the Church of Ireland. (Cries of "Divide.")

He would now, with the leave of the House, state some facts respecting the relative strength of the different religious bodies in Scotland—(Hear, hear)—and he did so because mere general assertions were always less valuable than facts. The Established Church of Scotland at present numbered 1,290 minsters, and he preferred to state the number of ministers because the number of churches would not give the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches the fair position to which they were entitled, because in some of them there were two, three, and even four ministers. The Free Church had 957 ministers; the United Presbyterians had 510, exclusive of their English congregations; the Episcopalians, 193; the Roman Catholics, 172; Congregationalists, 82; other Presbyterian bodies, 76; Baptists, 75; Evangelical, Union 68; and smaller bodies, 50; making a total of 2,183, or 893 more than the Established Church. There was thus a difference of seventy per cent. in favour of the non-established ministers. (Cries of "Divide.") It seemed to him that the whole argument rested on the question as to what progress was being made by the Established Church, and what progress was being made by the non-established, for it was only in that way that the facts of the case could be seen, and in that view he thought that the figures would be interesting to hon. members. In 1836 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the religious instruction of Scotland, and in 1839 they reported that the number of ministers in the Established Church was 1,072, hence the increase since 1839 had been only 218, but the Free Church is altogether an increase, and even since the disruption, there had been a great addition. It began with fewer than 500 ministers, and had now 959. Taking an average he estimated that the increase in other bodies since 1843 had been one-fourth part, or 543. There was thus a total increase of 1,500 dissenting ministers since 1839. Comparing that with the increase of 218 in the Established Church, he thought nothing could show more clearly the direction in which the current was running, and he contended that it was merely a question of time when that Church should be disestablished. It might be interesting to know that these congregations were not merely small bodies of people who could do nothing for themselves. He was prepared to show that the amount contributed by them for religious purposes was so great that it would probably astonish the House. Since 1843 the Free Church had raised by voluntary contributions the incredible sum of nearly 10,250,000*l.* It might be supposed that, at the commencement, great efforts were made, and large sums of money raised, which it had not been possible to keep up after the excitement of the Disruption was over. The very opposite was the case. During the last twelve years, with the exception of one year, the annual contributions had steadily increased. Last year that Church raised 432,000*l.* This was not far short of half a million of money, a sum which, even as regarded national taxation for the whole of the United Kingdom, was considered important. Of its ministers, 897 received an average stipend of 234*l.*, and most of them had houses in addition. That Church supported hundreds of schools, and a large number of missionaries on foreign stations, all over the globe. (Cries of "Divide.") Hon. gentlemen who were impatient might as well cease to cry "divide," for he should tell his story to the end. (Cheers.) The next largest body in Scotland as regarded its ministers was the United Presbyterians, and that Church was equally liberal in proportion to its numbers. Last year, with the aid of its English congregations, it raised 330,000*l.* for home and missionary objects. It had missionaries in all quarters of the globe, and during the last twenty years it had raised 659,009*l.* for missionary purposes alone. Adding the contributions of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches together it appeared that during the last year, they amounted to upwards of 750,000*l.* That he thought must inspire great confidence in the friends of the voluntary principle, and it showed they were actuated by principle. The other non-established churches—he would not go into detail—but, generally speaking, he might say that they had raised large sums for similar objects, as had also the Established Church. But it was a remarkable fact that the richest body, the Episcopal Church, which included most of the large landowners in Scotland, contributed proportionally much less for these purposes than the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. To show how easily the Established Church in Scotland could become self-supporting, he might state that it appeared from the report of the royal commission to which he had referred, that the whole of the legal stipends of the 1,072 ministers in 1839 was only 231,451*l.*, exclusive of manses and glebes. Now if the congregations of two Dissenting bodies could raise three-quarters of a million of money yearly, it could be no hardship for the Established Church to raise sufficient to pay the stipends of their own ministers, as the other denominations did. As regarded the voluntary collections of the Established Church for religious and benevolent objects, it might be stated that the royal commission, in 1839, ascertained that during the preceding year the ordinary collections made for the poor, together with the extraordinary collections for other religious and benevolent objects, amounted only to 58,120*l.* Since that period the amount of their stipends had been increased in many cases by legal decisions, but no certain record of the aggregate results exists. Probably they may now amount to £50,000 more than in 1839. One thing, however, was certain, that, stimulated by the zeal of other religious bodies, the Established Church had very largely increased its voluntary contributions for religious and benevolent objects and for Church extension. In these circumstances every argument formerly used against the Irish Church would most forcibly apply to the Scotch Church; and there was one additional argument of great force applicable to the Church of Scotland which could not be applied to the Established Church of Ireland. Hon. members would recollect that persons of strong Protestant feelings urged against the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church that its churches and ministers were like detached forts in the regions of Popery, from which what they considered the true faith could be best defended, and that if they were removed, Protestantism would be greatly injured if not entirely destroyed. Such an opinion was held by thousands of serious men. That argument, however, would not apply to Scotland, where the same religious faith, creed, and form of worship prevailed in the great majority of the unestablished Churches as in the Established Church. It therefore followed that if the Scotch Church were disestablished and disendowed, none of the evils which were predicted as to Ireland could possibly happen in Scotland. He would now give a summary of the different bodies holding the same faith to prove this, and then conclude. There were 1,290 ministers on the one side; on the other there were 957 Free Church ministers, 510 United Presbyterians, and 301 of the smaller Presbyterian bodies, and others holding similar views, making a total of 1768, all of whom adopted substantially the same creed and the same form of worship as the 1,290 endowed ministers; and their ministrations were, to say the least, as acceptable to the people as those of their Established brethren. Their congregations were generally as large, and in many cases much larger, and he apprehended no disturbance or other evil could arise from the Scotch Church being placed on the same footing as the Irish Church. Having believed and publicly advocated these views for more than thirty years, he had great pleasure in seconding the motion, and he hoped to live to see the day when the Scotch Church would be disestablished. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I rise at this early period to claim the attention of the House for a short time, not because I have ventured to take into my own hands the decision how long the House shall think proper to discuss a question which is undoubtedly of the greatest importance, and which presents a most copious supply of matter for consideration, but because I do not desire that there should be even the slightest appearance of delay or hesitation on the part of the Government in declaring the course they mean to take with respect to the motion of my hon. friend—a motion on which he has spoken out with the utmost plainness the purposes which he has in view; indeed, with so much plainness that I think it leaves us nothing to regret, except the fact that, as his motion happens to be made, by no fault of his, as an amendment of the original motion that the Speaker should leave the chair, we have not an opportunity of giving it that direct Aye or No which we should have been able to do if he had happened to move it on a day allotted to independent members. I think great interest attaches to the facts which have been stated by my hon. friend the member for Edinburgh. No man has more laboriously considered the statistics of the religious condition of Scotland, and I hope he will not think I undervalue them if I forbear to notice them upon the present occasion. But I pass them by for a reason of which I think he will feel the force—that we all know very well this question will not be decided by a reference to the specialities of the case of Scotland, but rather by a reference to those general conditions on which my hon. friend the member for Bradford founded himself in the course of his argument. With respect to my hon. friend the member for Bradford himself, I have often had the pleasure of hearing him. I am always certain to find in his speeches great ability, careful examination and research, and evidence palpable of good-will towards all men. (Hear, hear.) Let us consider what the motion of my hon. friend is. He invites us to assert five propositions. The first is, that the Establishment by law of the Churches of England and Scotland involves a violation of religious equality; the second is, that it deprives those Churches of the right of self-government; the third is, that it imposes on Parliament duties which it is not qualified to discharge; the fourth is, that it is hurtful to the religious and political interests of the community; and the fifth is, that, therefore, they ought no longer to be maintained. I am not prepared to adopt these propositions. I feel it impossible to discuss them in the manner in which they ought to be discussed. They are propositions with an enormous sweep and volume, on which he has entered at some length, but not at a length nearly sufficient to do justice to the vast importance and immense complications of the matters involved. They have been, and may be again, the subject of lengthy and comprehensive speeches. They may occupy for months and years, at some period or other, the attention of this House; but I do not think that we are qualified at this moment, any more than we are disposed, to attempt to deal with them in a manner which their importance and difficulty would demand. My hon. friend has stated one side of the case. He founded himself not on a violation of religious equality, but upon the sufferings of the Church of England itself, upon the difficulties that it undergoes, upon the hopelessness of its condition, upon the proposition which he asserts that there are but few members of the Church of England who will not admit that if she were dissociated from the State she would be relieved from many disadvantages. Well, all members of the Church of England are perfectly sensible that there are many difficulties in the conduct of her government, and many difficulties in the prosecution of her work, in the condition in which she now stands. But my hon. friend must not overlook the fact that those conditions are not to be got rid of by the course he recommends. My hon. friend says it is sometimes argued that the established condition of the Church of England is highly favourable to free thought, and he points triumphantly to Ireland, and asks, Is thought less free in Ireland at this moment than it was before disestablishment? Well, I am not going to recant anything I have said heretofore on the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but I am bound to say, with reference to the present moment and the present circumstances, if my hon. friend asks me, from what I read in the newspapers that thought is now less free in religious matters in Ireland than it was before disestablishment—(great cheering from the Opposition)—I earnestly hope that the dangers the Irish Church is encountering or provoking, may pass away; but I must honestly confess that if, as an individual member of the Church of England, more than as a Minister, my hon. friend thinks to lure me out of the condition in which I find myself in the Established Church, by pointing out the felicity or tranquillity our brethren in Ireland are at this moment enjoying—(laughter)—I would rather remain where I am. (Renewed cheering.) I do not deny that there is much to encourage and facilitate a movement like this of my hon. friend. In the first place, he represents a large body of opinions in the country. In former times the differences of the Nonconformists from the Church of England turned mainly upon discipline. They have now gone deeper. My hon. friend is accustomed to represent, I believe with truth, the position of the Nonconformists as one resting upon the conviction that Establishment itself is intentionally injurious to religion, and that, therefore, the establishment of their own religion, were it to be taken as it is, would be just as objectionable and as offensive in their eyes as in the establishment of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) In the next place, I do not deny that the disturbances and distractions of the Church of England excite discussions of this kind. They are disturbances and distractions which probably we all view with deep regret. (Hear, hear.) Differences, however, are not confined to the Church of England. Christianity is at this moment passing through a most fiery trial. The faith and conscience of men are now awakened with regard to questions of religion in a manner of which perhaps there is no example for several centuries past. Before we conclude, on account of the present differences, to adopt the remedy offered by my hon. friend, we must require much more careful, much more searching proofs that such differences could be composed by the method he propounds. We have in this country a number of Nonconforming bodies which, although considerable in themselves, are yet of limited extent as religious communities, and I must say that most of these Nonconforming bodies appear to me to exercise the principles and powers of self-government with very considerable success. They have, I admit, avoided many controversies which in larger Churches in the world are rife, and they appear to attain in no inconsiderable measure the great ends of religious activity and religious peace. But it will not do for my hon. friend, even if that admission is made, to draw from it the conclusion that the same state of things would prevail were you to take a great historical and national Church like the Church of England and place it in the condition of a private religious community. (Cheers.) I would illustrate what I mean by a reference to the forms of Government in Europe. You take the case of Switzerland, a small isolated country, and you find that there has been no difficulty whatever in discharging almost all important purposes of government for centuries under a republican form of government. When, however, you go into the great countries of Europe and there supplant and overthrow the ancient forms of government the effect is altogether different. (Opposition cheers.) My hon. friend has, I admit, other allies. He has allies in a sense of religious indifference, which, at any rate upon the continent of Europe, greatly tends to widen the chasm existing between religious and civil offences, and yet more powerful allies than all in what I must call the violent assertions of ecclesiastical prerogative which have been singularly and painfully characteristic of the present age, which have produced and will produce vehement reaction on the part of the human mind and intellect, and which are undoubtedly tending on a large scale, in the opinion of the civilised world, to sever religious and civil offences. Having made these admissions, and in no niggardly spirit, I still must contend that the proposition of my hon. friend is a proposition which we are not prepared to adopt; and that, if we were prepared to adopt it, it would be attended by results from which the courage even of my hon. friend him-

self would shrink. (Cheers and laughter.) If my hon. friend were to induce the House of Commons to adopt his motion, what does he think would be the sentiment of the country to-morrow morning? (Cheers.) What would be the condition of the Parliament which had affirmed his proposal? As my hon. friend says, it is undoubtedly the constituencies which have to decide whether the Church of England is to remain an Established Church or not. But what does my hon. friend think would be their decision? Some time ago, when he made a somewhat similar motion to this, I ventured to point out to him that there were no signs of public concurrence in the views which he recommended, and that statement of mine has frequently been described as a challenge. My hon. friend has given no sanguine account of what he himself believes to be the state of feeling in the country. When the views he has urged have been urged with attention in different parts of the country, the mode of their acceptance has, to say the least of it, been very equivocal. If we are to look at the local indications which from time to time and from year to year are afforded by popular feeling, can we say that they tend to inspire us with the conviction that the opinions advocated by my hon. friend are spreading? And if we are to suppose that an election were to occur upon this question, I can but say that for my own part I believe that the people of England, not of one party or of another, but the people of England in the broadest sense of the word, would return to Parliament a still smaller number of members inclined to entertain the question of the disestablishment of the English Church than is even to be found in the Parliament addressed by my hon. friend to-night. (Cheers.) I think my hon. friend, like many of us, has been misled by what happened in the case of the Irish Church. I venture to say now, as I ventured to say then, that the two cases were distinguished broadly, vitally, and essentially upon every point without exception upon which they could be brought into comparison. (Cheers.) My hon. friend has not spoken to-night of the numbers composing the Church of England. That subject has been one of much dispute. I am extremely sorry that we have not been able to agree among ourselves upon a mode of ascertaining the truth upon this matter by a certain test. (Cheers.) We have had an account taken of the attendance on a certain day. That account is a very important one, but it is very far from supplying a conclusive test. For my hon. friend must recollect that it is part of the case of the Established Church, as a national Church, to carry in her train a number of persons chained to her by far looser ties than those which bind members to unestablished communities. Therefore, the measure of her following cannot be accurately determined by ascertaining the number of worshippers on one particular day. Those who argue the cause of the Establishment will tell you, and with force and truth, that it is the great duty of the Establishment to look after these as far as it is possible to do so. The immediate fruit of her labours in this direction must be necessarily very small, but that is no reason why they should be totally lost sight of. I will not go the length of saying that the register of marriages supplies an accurate and absolute test, or that it even supplies a better test than the attendance, but one may be very usefully employed to correct the other, and if on the one hand it be more than the truth that 78 per cent. of the population are members of the Established Church, it is probably far less than the truth to say that one-half is the true proportion. (Opposition cheers.) Making full allowance for the state of opinion in Wales and particular portions of England, my conviction is that a very considerable majority of the people of this country are by some tie or another attached to the opinions of the Church of England. I said that my hon. friend had been misled by what occurred in reference to the Irish Church. And first I will throw the responsibility upon hon. gentlemen opposite. When the case of the Church of Ireland was discussed, many who sat in this House, and many of great weight, dignity, and importance—many bishops on the bench, and many great authorities—insisted that the case of the two Churches was the same—that it was perfectly impossible to destroy the Irish Church without in common consistency and propriety proceeding to destroy the Church of England. My hon. friend was no doubt to a certain extent taken in by those assurances. He interpreted them as promises on the part of the gentlemen who used them that they would be his allies in destroying the English Church. But he finds now that there is no one of those persons, commoner or peer, layman or clergyman, who used that argument in the controversy with respect to the Irish Church who is not a most resolute opponent of my hon. friend with regard to his proposition respecting the English Church. Besides that, I admit that in the very fact of the external resemblance of the two Churches there was something in the destruction of the one likely, at any rate, to induce attack upon the other. That I admit; but here again my hon. friend has been misled. The apparent similarity of the case could not long conceal their essential differences, and I believe that, as factitious and momentary causes have given the movement so well represented by my hon. friend something of a temporary character, he will find himself in no inconsiderable degree deserted—a desertion of which we shall see increasing evidence from time to time. (Cheers.) Sir, my hon. friend does not deny that it is only a small minority in this House that he represents, and, with the fairness of mind which he possesses, and from which nothing, I believe, could possibly draw him aside, I do not think he would urge that that minority in this House would be increased in number if it were in our power to take the judgment of the country upon this great subject. (Hear, hear.) And that judgment of the country he himself must admit to be the final standard of action. (Hear, hear.) It would not be possible, sir, within the limits of a moderate speech to give any sort of even tolerable picture of the case; but I must enter a protest against the general character of the representation of my hon. friend when he speaks of the hopelessness and helplessness of the Church of England. I shall not adopt the language of exaggeration. I do not mean to say that the Church of England is not seriously hampered in her work. Her connection with the State, which is a part of her lot, and which has brought her many advantages in former times, and has been an almost vital incident of her condition, must necessarily bring its disadvantages too. But my hon. friend has represented the dark side of the picture, and the dark side alone. If the speech of my hon. friend contained upon the whole a just description of the Church of England, what a lamentable picture she would present to the eyes of impartial observers! Where, sir, are we to find impartial observers? Not easily, perhaps, among ourselves, because feeling and affection profoundly enter into the discussion of this question, and prevent us from judging with that perfect dispassionate calmness which we should ourselves desire. But abroad we may sometimes find those who, with accurate knowledge of the condition of this country, and especially of its religious condition, unite discrimination and perfect impartiality of feeling. Now the House is usually alarmed at the production of a printed book, but there is no occasion for such alarm now. I am about to read some passages from the work of a very eminent man—Dr. Döllinger—whom for many years I have had the privilege of calling my friend—one who is thoroughly acquainted with the religious condition of this country, and than whom no one has a deeper sympathy with English institutions in general. I shall read from a work published by his authority in this country, entitled *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches*. I shall not read all he says about the Church of England, first because it is too long, and next because my hon. friend has supplied us with most of what could be said about her calamities and wounds and sores—(a laugh)—but I will read what he says on the other side—not garbled passages, but such as convey a fair and just impression of his views. Dr. Döllinger says:—

> It may still be said with truth that no Church is so national, so deeply rooted in popular affection, so bound up with the institutions and manners of the country, or so powerful in its influence on national character. During the last forty years it has extended its range, besides strengthening itself internally, by the foundation of numerous colonial bishoprics in all parts of the globe. It possesses a rich theological literature, inferior only to the German in extent and depth, and an excellent translation of the Bible, a masterpiece of style and more accurate than the Lutheran. . . . But what I should estimate most highly is the fact that the cold, dull indifferentism, which on the continent has spread like a deadly mildew over all degrees of society, has no place in the British Isles. To whatever extent scepticism may have advanced among the younger generation, on the whole the Englishman takes an active part in Church interests and questions, and that unnatural hostility and division between laity and clergy produced by Ultramontanism in Catholic countries is quite unknown there. . . What has been accomplished during the last thirty years by the energy and generosity of religious Englishmen, set in motion and guided by the Church, in the way of popular education and Church building, far exceeds what has been done in any other country. (Cheers) Attendance at religious worship on Sundays is not, as in France, the exception, but the rule, with the higher and middle classes. The Church Congress at Nottingham in October last (1871), in which sixteen bishops and some 3,000 clergymen and laymen of the various ranks and classes took part, presented an enviable spectacle to other nations. The weightiest religious questions of the day, and the special events and difficulties of the Anglican Church, were discussed with a dignity and thoroughness which suggests to every German the tacit inquiry whether anything of the kind would be possible with us.

(Cheers.) Now, sir, whatever may be said of hopeless helplessness, whatever may be said of the loss of self-government, whatever may be said of the difficulty of obtaining from Parliament the measures necessary for the religious development and expansion of the Church, I should think that those who know how to estimate moral as well as legal causss, should remember how much the people of this country are governed through voluntary, and not through merely cercive and authoritative agencies. Those who can measure the real work which has thus been described by Dr. Döllinger will be disposed to think that while, even upon the propositions of my hon. friend, some admissions may be made to him, his candour would compel him to allow that from every one of those propositions he is bound to make the largest deductions. Sir, my hon. friend will not deny the great part the Church of England has played in the past history of this country. It is all very well to complain of the Church—and I might, perhaps, complain of the particular course that some of its leading members may have taken upon this question—but the Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. (Cheers.) Take the Church of England out of the History of England, and the History of England becomes a chaos without order, without life, and without meaning. (Renewed cheers.) My hon. friend will not say that the question he proposes to us, if it was not a question of the past, is a question of the present. If it be a question of the future I will not say. But this I will say—that if it be it is a question of the future which, with reference to us, is indefinitely remote. (Hear, hear.) If I were to adopt the conclusions of my hon. friend, which I do not, I should ask myself in what way I should—as one not wholly unpractised in the framing of measures for this House—endeavour to embody them in an Act of Parliament, and certainly I should have no courage to face the question. I once made a computation of what sort of allowance of property should be made to the Church of England if it were to disestablish her upon the same rules of equity and liberality with respect to property which we adopted in the case of the Irish Church, and I made out that, between life incomes, private endowments, and the value of fabrics and advowsons, something like 90,000,000*l.*, sterling would have to be given in this process of disestablishment to the ministers, members, and patrons of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) That is a very staggering kind of arrangement to make in supplying the young lady with a fortune and turning her out in life to begin the world. (Laughter.) And undoubtedly the spectacle of a Voluntary Society in the position of the Church of England altogether independent of the State, and with money available for her purposes that can be roughly described, or even possibly estimated, by figures like these, does present to the mind rather puzzling problems, so that prudent men, moderate men, and, on my own behalf, Sir, I will say liberal men, may venture to doubt whether they are called upon by any imperative sense of duty to join in such a crusade, even though led by my hon. friend filling the part of Peter the Hermit. (Cheers and laughter.) Sir, I invite the House distinctly and decisively to refuse their assent to the motion of my hon. friend, because it is a motion the conclusions of which are alike at variance with the practical wishes and desires, the intelligent opinions, and the religious convictions of a large majority of the people of England. The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud cheers from the Opposition benches.

Mr. VERNON HARCOURT, who rose amid cries of "Divide," said he wish to state why Liberal members not occupying the responsible position of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government could not accept the conclusion of the hon. member for Bradford. His proposal involved difficulties larger even than those to which the Prime Minister had alluded. He did not complain that the hon. member had brought forward a large subject, but there was some right to complain that he had not explained the full extent and consequences of his proposal. He had asked the House not to amend, but to overthrow, the whole framework of the Constitution. The keystone of the fabric was the Act of Settlement, on which our whole political, parliamentary, and monarchical system was founded, and that Act was in these terms:—"Whereas it is necessary that provision should be made for securing our religion, laws, and liberties; whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown should join in the communion of the Church of England as by law established." Did the hon. member intend to repeal this Act, and what was the new plan which had been settled in the conclave of the Liberation Society? Arguing the question on political grounds, not because he undervalued its religious aspect, but because the former seemed most appropriate for discussion in this House, he had a right to ask whether the hon. member meant to maintain the Protestant settlement of the Crown. If so, how did he mean to reconcile it with those doctrines of religious equality and religious injustice upon which he had enlarged? To confine the Crown to a particular form of religious opinion was a clear violation of the principles he had laid down, and all the abstract considerations of justice to which he had appealed were equally applicable to the settlement of the Crown. (Hear.) Was the hon. member prepared to go to the hustings, the *pennons* of which was already projecting over this House, and to tell the electors that the policy of the English Nonconformists and of the Liberation Society required as its first and necessary step the abolition of the Protestant settlement? Was the hon. member for Edinburgh prepared to recommend as Imperial policy that the Protestant settlement should be changed or abolished? Nor did the difficulties end there. There was an Act which settled the Coronation. It had been thought necessary that the great compact between the Sovereign and the people should be placed on a certain footing. Did the hon. member intend to alter the terms on which the Sovereign succeeded to the headship of the community? At any rate, he ought to let people understand that these things were involved. If the House thought the time had arrived for coming to a decision by a vote—(cheers) he was unwilling to force arguments on their attention. He had never entertained any doubt on the question, and should vote, as heretofore, against the proposal.

The House divided, and there voted—

For Mr. Miall's motion		61
Against it		356
Majority against		—295

The announcement of the numbers was received with cheers.

THE DIVISION LIST ON MR. MIALL'S MOTION.

We subjoin the division list of Friday night—Mr. Miall's resolution being put as an amendment to the motion for going into committee of supply :—

MAJORITY.—AYES, 356.

Adair, H. E.	Fletcher, I.	Maxwell, W. H.
Adderley, Sir C.	Floyer, J.	Mellor, T. W.
Akroyd, E.	Foljambe, F. J. S.	Merry, J.
Amcotts, Col. W. C.	Forde, Colonel	Milbank, F. A.
Amory, J. H.	Forester, General	Milles, Hon. G. W.
Amphlett, R. P.	Forster, W. E.	Mills, Sir C. H.
Annesley, Hn. Col. H.	Foster, W. H.	Monckton, F.
Anstruther, Sir R.	Fortescue, Chichester	Monckton, Hon. G.
Arbuthnot, Maj. G.	Fortescue, Hon. D. F.	Monk, C. J.
Arkwright, A. P.	Fowler, R. N.	Morgan, C. O.
Arkwright, R.	Gallwey, Sir W. P.	Morgan, Hon. Maj.
Assheton, R.	Galway, Viscount	Mowbray, J. R.
Aytoun, R. S.	Gilpin, Colonel	Muncaster, Lord
Baggallay, Sir R.	Gladstone, W. E.	Neville-Grenville, R.
Bagge, Sir W.	Gladstone, W. H.	Newdegate, C. N.
Bailey, Sir J. R.	Goldney, G.	Newport, Viscount
Ball, J. T.	Gordon, E. S.	Nicholson, W.
Barclay, A. C.	Gore, J. R. O.	North, Col.
Barnett, H.	Gore, W. R. O.	Northcote, Sir S.
Barrington, Visct.	Gower, Hn. E. F. L.	Ogilvy, Sir J.
Barttelot, Colonel	Gower, Lord R.	O'Neill, Hon. E.
Bass, A.	Grant, Col. Hon. J.	O'Reilly-Dease, M.
Bass, M. T.	Gray, Colonel	Pakington, Sir J.
Bates, E.	Greaves, E.	Palk, Sir L.
Bateson, Sir T.	Greene, E.	Parker, Lt.-Col. W.
Bathurst, A. A.	Gregory, G. B.	Patten, Col. Wilson
Beach, Sir M. H.	Greville, Hon. Capt.	Peek, H. W.
Beach, W. W. B.	Greville-Nugent, G.	Peel, A. W.
Bective, Earl of	Grey, Sir G.	Pelham, Lord
Bentinck, G. C.	Grieve, J. J.	Pell, A.
Bentinck, G. W. P.	Grosvenor, Hon. N.	Pemberton, E. L.
Benyon, R.	Grosvenor, Lord R.	Pender, J.
Beresford, Col. M.	Guest, A. E.	Percy, Earl
Bolckow, H. W. F.	Hambro, C.	Phipps, C. P.
Bonham-Carter, J.	Hamilton, Lord C.	Pim, J.
Bourne, Colonel	Hamilton, Ld C. J.	Playfair, L.
Bouverie, E. P.	Hamilton, Marq. of	Plunket, Hon. D. R.
Bowmont, Marq. of	Hamilton, Lord G.	Powell, F. S.
Brassey, T.	Hamilton, J. G. C.	Powell, W.
Brise, Col. R.	Hanbury, R. W.	Raikes, H. C.
Bristowe, S. B.	Harcourt, W. Vernon	Read, C. S.
Broadley, W. H. H.	Hardcastle, J. A.	Round, J.
Brooks, W. C.	Hardy, G.	Royston, Viscount
Bruce, Lord E.	Hardy, J.	Russell, Lord A.
Bruce, H. A.	Hardy, J. S.	Sackville, S. G. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.	Hartington, Marq. of	Salt, T.
Buckley, Sir E.	Hay, Sir J. C. D.	Samuda, J. D'A.
Butler-Johnstone, H.	Headlam, T.	Samuelson, B.
Butt, I.	Henley, J. W.	Samuelson, H. B.
Buxton, Sir R. J.	Henley, Lord	Sandon, Viscount
Cadogan, Hon. F. W.	Henry, M.	Sclater-Booth, G.
Cameron, D.	Hermon, E.	Scott, Ld. H. J. M.
Campbell-Banner-man, H.	Hervey, Ld. A. H. C.	Scourfield, J. H.
	Heygate, Sir F. W.	Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir
Cardwell, E.	Heygate, W. U.	Shirley, S. E.
Carington, Hon. W.	Hildyard, T. B. T.	Simonds, W. B.
Cartwright, F.	Hill, A. S.	Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Cartwright, W. C.	Hodgkinson, G.	Smith, A.
Cave, S.	Hodgson, K. D.	Smith, F. C.
Cave, T.	Hodgson, W. N.	Smith, R.
Cavendish, Lord F. C.	Hogg, J. M.	Smith, W. H.
Cavendish, Lord G.	Holford, J. P. G.	Smith, S. G.
Cawley, C. E.	Holker, J.	Somerset, Lord H.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B.	Holms, J.	Stanhope, W. T.
Chambers, M.	Holmesdale, Visct.	Stanley, Hon. F.
Chaplin, H.	Holt, J. M.	Stanley, Hon. W. O.
Chelsea, Viscount	Hood, Capt. Hn. A.	Stapleton, J.
Childers, H.	Hope, A. Beresford	Starkie, J. P. C.
Cholmeley, Sir M.	Hornby, E. K.	Storks, Sir H. K.
Clive, Col. Hon. G.	Hoskyns, C. W.	Straight, D.
Clowes, S. W.	Howard, Hn. C. W. G.	Sturt, H. G.
Cochrane, A. Baillie	Hughes, T.	Sturt, Lieut.-Col. N.
Cole, Col. Hon. H. A.	Hughes, W. B.	Sykes, C.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.	Hunt, G. W.	Talbot, C. R. M.
Coleridge, Sir J. D.	Hutton, John	Talbot, J. G.
Collins, T.	Jackson, R. W.	Talbot, Hon. Capt.
Corrance, F. S.	Jardine, R.	Taylor, Colonel
Corry, Hon. H. W.	Jenkinson, Sir G. S.	Thynne, Lord H. F.
Cowper, Hon. H. F.	Jervis, Colonel	Tipping, W.
Cowper-Temple, Hn.	Johnston, W.	Tollemache, Hon. F.
Crawford, R. W.	Johnstone, Sir H.	Tollemache, J.
Crichton, Viscount	Jones, J.	Tollemache, W.
Croft, Sir H. G. D.	Kavanagh, A. M'M.	Torr, J.
Cross, R. A.	Kay-Shuttleworth, U. J.	Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Cubitt, G.	Kennaway, Sir J. H.	Trelawny, Sir J. S.
Dalrymple, D.	Keown, W.	Trench, Hon. Major
Dalrymple, C.	Kingscote, Col.	Trevor, Lord A. E.
Dalway, M. R.	Knatch. - Hugessen	Turner, C.
Damer, Cpt. Dawson.	E.	Turnor, E.
Davenport, W. B.	Knight, F. W.	Vandeleur, Col.
Dawson, Col. R. P.	Knightley, Sir R.	Verner, E. W.
Denison, C. B.	Lacon, Sir E. H. K.	Verney, Sir H.
Dent, J. D.	Laird, J.	Wait, W. K.
Dick, F.	Langton, W. G.	Walker, Lieut.-Col.
Dickinson, S. S.	Laslett, W.	Walpole, Hon. F.
Disraeli, Rt. Hn. B.	Learmonth, A.	Walpole, Rt. Hn. S.
Dodson, Rt. Hn. J. G.	Legh, W. J.	Walter, J.
Dowdeswell, W. E.	Leigh, E.	Waterhouse, S.
Duff, M. E. Grant	Lennox, Lord G. G.	Watney, J.
Duncombe, Hn. Col.	Lennox, Lord H. G.	Welby, W. E.
Du Pre, C. G.	Leslie, J.	Wells, E.
Dyke, W. H.	Lewis, C. E.	Wells, W.
Dyott, Col. R.	Liddell, Hon. H. G.	West, H. W.
Eastwick, E. B.	Lindsay, Hn. Col. C.	Wethered, T. O.
Eaton, H. W.	Lindsay, Col. R. L.	Wharton, J. L.
Edwards, H.	Lopes, H. C.	Whatman, J.
Egerton, Ad. Hn. F.	Lopes, Sir M.	Wheelhouse, W. S.
Egerton, Sir P. G.	Lowe, Rt. Hon. R.	Whitbread, S.
Egerton, Hon. W.	Lowther, Hon. W.	Whitwell, J.
Ellice, E.	Lyttelton, Hn. G. C.	Williams, Sir F. M.
Elliot, G.	Mackintosh, E. W.	Wilmot, Sir H.
Elphinstone, Sir J.	M'Combie, W.	Winn, R.
Enfield, Viscount	M'Lagan, P.	Wyndham, Hon. P.
Ennis, J. J.	Mahon, Viscount	Wynn, Sir W. W.
Erskine, Admi. J. E.	Maitland, Sir A.	Wynn, C. W. W.
Ewing, A. O.	Malcolm, J. W.	Yorke, J. R.
Feilden, H. M.	Manners, Lord J.	Young, G.
Fellowes, E.	Manners, Ld. G. J.	
Figgins, J.	March, Earl of	TELLERS.
Finch, G. H.	Martin, P. W.	Adams, W. P.
Fitzwilliam, Hn. C.	Matthews, H.	Glyn, Hon. G. G.

MINORITY.—NOES, 61.

Allen, W. S.	Gourley, E. T.	Reed, C.
Anderson, G.	Graham, W.	Richard, H.
Armitstead, G.	Hadfield, G.	Richards, E. M.
Baines, E.	Herbert, Hn. A. E. W.	Rylands, P.
Balfour, Sir G.	Holland, S.	Sartoris, E. J.
Beaumont, W. B.	Howard, J.	Saunderson, E.
Bentall, E. H.	Illingworth, A.	Sheridan, H. B.
Brewer, Dr.	Kinnaird, Hn. A. F.	Smith, E.
Bright, Jacob	Lawson, Sir W.	Smyth, P. J.
Bright, Rt. Hn. John	Leatham, E. A.	Stacpoole, W.
Candlish, J.	Lewis, J. D.	Stepney, Sir J.
Clifford, C. C.	Lush, Dr.	Taylor, P. A.
Cowen, Sir J.	Lusk, Alderman	Trevelyan, G. O.
Craufurd, E. H. J.	Melly, G.	Vivian, H. H.
Davies, R.	Miller, J.	White, J.
Digby, K. T.	Morrison, W.	Williams, W.
Dilke, Sir C. W.	Palmer, J. H.	Young, A. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.	Philips, R. N.	
Dixon, G.	Potter, E.	TELLERS.
Ewing, H. E. C.	Potter, T. B.	Miall, E.
Fawcett, H.	Pricer, W. E.	M'Laren, D.
Fothergill, R.	Rathbone, W.	

It would appear from a list published in the *Times* that those who paired for the motion —29 in number—and to these must be added those—3 in number—who are known to have been prevented from voting in its favour by the early hour at which the division took place.

The following members of the Government, some of whom had voted against the previous motions, were absent on this occasion, viz. :—

Mr. Baxter.	Mr. Lefevre.
Mr. Stansfeld.	Sir G. Jessel.
Mr. Ayrton.	Mr. Monsell.
Mr. Winterbotham.	Mr. Hibbert.

Notwithstanding that three divisions have taken place upon this subject in the present Parliament, no fewer than 46 Liberal members have not voted upon it.

The following is a list of members who voted for one or other of the motions of 1871 and 1872, but the cause of whose absence on Friday is, at present, unexplained :—

Backhouse, E.	Fitzmaurice, Ld. E.	Plimsoll, S.
Beaumont, S. A.	Harris, J. D.	Torrens, Sir R.
Beaumont, .	Kensington, Lord	Villiers, C. P.
Brogden, A.	Lawrence, Ald. W.	Whalley, G.
Carnegie, C.	Macfie, W.	Weguelin, T.
Chadwick, D.	Mading, S. S.	Willyams, E. W.
Clay, J.	Muntz, P. H.	Wingfield, Sir C.
Fordyce, W. D.	Parry, J. L. D.	

It was expected that, in consequence of the Nonconformist vote on the Irish University Bill, Mr. Miall's motion would receive a less amount of Irish Liberal support than heretofore, although it amounted to only 7 votes in 1871 and 8 in 1872. The following Irish Liberals, who voted in one of those years, were absent on Friday :—

Bagwell, John	Heron, D. C.
Barry, A. H. S.	McClure, T.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.	Shaw, W.
Callan, P.	Smyth, P. J.

The following Liberals voted against the motion—117 :—

Adams, W. P. (Tell.)	Ellice, E.	Laslett, W.
Adair, H. G.	Edwards, H.	*Lowe, R.*
Akroyd, E.	*Enfield, Viscount*	Lyttelton, C. G.
Amcotts, Col.	Erskine, Admiral	Mackintosh, E. W.
Anstruther, Sir R.	Fitzwilliam, C. W.	McCombie, W.
Aytoun, R. S.	Fletcher, I.	McLagan, P.
Barclay, A. C.	Foljambe, F. J.	*Maitland, Sir A.*
Bass, A.	*Forster, W. E.*	Martin, P. W.
Bass, M. T.	Foster, W. H.	Matthews, H.
Bolckow, H. W.	*Fortescue, C. B.*	Maxwell, W. H.
Bonham-Carter, J.	Fortescue, D.	Merry, J.
Bouverie, E. P.	*Gladstone, W. E.*	Milbank, J. A.
Bowmont, Marq. of	*Gladstone, W. H.*	Nicholson, W.
Brassey, T.	*Glyn, G. G.* (Tell.)	Ogilvy, Sir J.
Bristowe, S.	Gower, E. L.	O'Reilly Dease, M.
Bruce, Lord E.	Gower, Lord R.	*Peel, A. W.*
Bruce, H. A.	Greville, Capt.	Pelham, Lord
Butt, I.	Greville-Nugent	Pender, John
Campbell-Bannerman H.	Grey, Sir G.	Pim, J.
	Grieve, J. J.	Playfair, Dr.
Cardwell, E.	Grosvenor, N.	Russell, Lord A.
Carington, Col.	Grosvenor, Lord R.	Samuda, J. D.
Cartwright, W. C.	Harcourt, W. V.	Samuelson, B.
Cave, T.	Hardcastle, J. A.	Samuelson, H. B.
Cavendish, Lord J.	*Hartington, Marq. of*	Sinclair, Sir J.
Cavendish, Lord G.	Headlam, T. E.	Stanley, W. O.
Chambers, M.	Henley, Lord	Stapleton, John
Childers, H.	Henry, M.	*Storks, Sir H.*
Cholmeley, M.	Hodgkinson, G.	Tollemache, F.
Colebrook, Sir T. E.	Hodgson, K.	Torrens, W. McC.
Coleridge, Sir J. T.	Holmes, J.	Trelawny, Sir J.
Cowper, H. F.	Hoskyns, C. W.	Walter, J.
Cowper-Temple, W.	Howard, C. W. G.	Wells, W.
Crawford, R. W.	Hughes, T.	West, H.
Dalrymple, Dr.	Jardine, R.	Whatman, J.
Dalway, M. R.	Johnston, Sir H.	Whitbread, S.
Dent, J. D.	Kay-Shuttleworth, H.	Whitwell, J.
Dickinson, S. S.	Kingscote, Col.	*Young, G.*
Dodson, F. G.	*Knatchbull - Hugessen, E.*	
Duff, Mr. E. Grant		

The names of the members in italics are members of the Government.

HOW IT STRIKES A STRANGER.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Tuesday.

Last year, it will be remembered that Mr. Miall's opponents thought a count-out would be a possibly successful manœuvre against his motion. This year precisely the opposite tactics were adopted, and when he rose to speak the House was crowded. I must confess that I somewhat mistrusted the look of the Conservative benches, and thought that those formidable ranks meant mischief, although I hoped that sufficient power would be developed amongst our friends to prevent suppression of the debate by mere brute force. Mr. Miall was well supported. Mr. Bright, whose attendance at the House is infrequent, sat just below him, and amongst other prominent members of the disestablishment party who were present were, Mr. Craufurd, who sat next to Mr. Bright, Mr. Baines, Mr. White, Mr. Peter Taylor, Mr. Richards, Mr. Richard, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Potter, and several others. The House now begins public business at a quarter-past four, so that Mr. Miall was enabled to commence soon after half-past four. He spoke for a trifle over an hour, and from first to last, despite the drawback of a weak voice, and the temper of the Tories, he may be said to have completely *held* the House. Whatever uproar there was during the debate came afterwards, and not while he was speaking. This struck me as being remarkable, and I tried to account for it. The division list showed that there was no sympathy between him and the House so far as his opinions were concerned, and the scene which followed showed that they did not even obtain respect, but were considered as idle dreams fit only for laughter and instantaneous forgetfulness. Nevertheless, as I have said, that thin voice managed to prevent all clamour, and if it was not always heard it was not for want of universal attention. There were many reasons for this curious fact, which were easy to discover, provided only that the listener asked himself what it was in the speech which held *him*. There is a common human nature in us all, common, for example, to myself and the squires on the Speaker's left hand, and I suppose that what subdued me subdued them. First of all there was the charm of perfect preparation which always goes a long way. Mr. Miall knew exactly from the first word which he uttered down to the last, precisely what he intended. This is always felt as a compliment by any audience. Some great orator, I forget at the moment who it was, when asked why he learned all his speeches by heart, said that he would not venture to insult his hearers by presenting anything to them of which he was not completely assured, and the greatest effects have always been produced, whatever the advocates of temporary inspiration may say, by the eloquence of deliberate conviction, rather than by that of momentary passion. Mr. Bright always prepares with infinite pains, and so did Mr. Cobden and Mr. Roebuck, three of the greatest orators I have ever known. Mr. Gladstone may be deemed an exception, but he is the exception which might be shown to prove the rule if it were worth while to do so. Next and more important was a certain sincerity of expression very rare in the House as indeed it is everywhere. If my readers will examine the next book they read, or the next discourse they hear, they will perhaps be surprised to find how much there is in it which is not reached by the soul of the writer or the speaker. It is like a body of which all the outlying members are unvisited by the blood and are dead. Sentences might be cut off and no damage would be done. What is left too and cannot be altogether excised, is not the creation of the individuality of him who has appropriated it. It is mere foreign stuff picked up and used for a purpose. Half or perhaps nine-tenths of the speeches made in the House might be made by anybody. They are composed of the common raw material, Liberal or Tory as the case may be, and whether A, B, C, or D puts it together makes no difference. Now in Mr. Miall's case it was observable that every word was penetrated with a special meaning, and that the meaning shaped the word. Hence a sense even amongst the dullest that they were listening to something unlike anything to which they were in the habit of listening; that it was not the ordinary verbiage of the House, of which whole pages can be anticipated as soon as the first syllable is uttered. But finally, and crowning all, although so intimately connected with what lay below that separation is hardly possible, was the evident sincerity of thought. In this respect Mr. Miall must have produced a curious impression. Ordinarily the man who says "aye" in the House does so pretty much as a machine, and if the majority say "no" he is not much troubled. It is no blame to him that he is not. The subjects discussed are not such as greatly disturb men. Railway and Canal Traffic, Judicature, Juries, who cares much about them, or can feel anything profoundly about them? The House in fact never now has before it any matter which is vital, and it seems merely to touch the surfaces of things. It could not therefore but be amazed when it heard a man pleading for a cause which was dear to him, not as a barrister or as a politician, but simply as a human being with no ulterior object to serve. I was much struck with the quality of the deference and respect shown by the House to Mr. Miall, and could see plainly that it was mainly that involuntary homage which is always paid by the most trivial to those who are simply in earnest.

Mr. M'Laren, who seconded the motion, made a useful speech, and showed by some well-chosen statistics that voluntaryism in Scotland had called forth a spirit of self-reliance which alone was worth the Disruption, but he was nearly howled down. Ever and anon a storm and cries of "Divide, divide" broke out against him, and he had once to stop and assure his inarticulate foes that their senseless impatience would by no means prevent his telling his story. Sometimes the noise would subside for a moment, but presently it would rise again and almost prevent a word from being heard. I noticed one young gentleman, with his hat a little on one side, who crowed incessantly, and whom I should very much have liked to sketch as a defender of the faith if I had been able to draw. He has never spoken, and therefore I cannot say who he was, but he was typical in dress, manner, and general get-up of the bulk of the support which Church and State receive from the respectable

classes in the country. He was probably an officer whose religion is of that spiritual cast which prevails so extensively at Aldershot. Nevertheless, he went for one in the votes, and was a unit amongst those "intelligent and religious" persons, a vast majority of whom Mr. Gladstone declared were in favour of the connection between Church and State. When Mr. McLaren came to an end Mr. Vernon Harcourt, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Gladstone all rose but the Speaker selected Mr. Gladstone. His early interference in the debate, I confess, somewhat angered me. It had been proclaimed that the Tories meant, if possible, to force a division before dinner for the purpose of gaining a more decisive majority, and also because they wished it to be said that the friends of the motion were not strong enough to keep up a discussion. Mr. Gladstone knew what their strategy was, and he played into their hands. It was all very well for him to disclaim any intention of prematurely closing the debate. I cannot believe that he meant what he said. He must have known that after him nobody in the existing temper of the House would stand any chance whatever of being heard, and that a division must immediately follow. He managed to draw forth rapturous cheers and laughter from the benches before him. More particularly was he applauded when he declared that the Irish disestablished Church was less free than the Church of England, for the Tories seemed to see something like a recantation in this confession, and he was afterwards forced to trim the balance by the avowal that his opinions upon the Irish Church question had undergone no change. Freedom, forsooth! The freedom of the Church of England partly means just what it means in my parish, that the State-appointed parson is so utterly indifferent that he cares nothing about his flock, and allows them to do just what they please without reprehension, or it means that the tribunals which punish heterodoxy are so costly that nobody dares to put them in motion.

After Mr. Gladstone it was evident that the end must immediately come. The Conservatives had planned a surprise which it was too late to resist. None of our friends had dreamed that the division would take place before eleven or twelve o'clock, and those who were to speak were not ready. Mr. Leatham was to have assisted, and he would, perhaps, with his resoluteness, have stopped the uproar and continued the struggle till further help might have arrived. But he was in the gallery taking notes, and altogether unable to reach the floor of the House in time. There was a Nonconformist party near Gravesend who came back to the House thinking to be in plenty of time, and found that it was all over, and that they were too late. The House therefore divided, after a few words from Mr. Vernon Harcourt, and the result is well known. That the song of triumph was pretty loud may well be believed. Of course, it will be said that the defeat is crushing and that disestablishment is dead. Some of those who ought to know better talked in this idle way. But the history of reform is the history of minorities, as everybody knows; and in this case the defeat is a juggle. Numerically, the division was no test whatever. The diminution in our numbers compared with that of last year, was brought about by a common trick of no higher order than that of bribing the driver of a railway train who is bringing up voters to the poll, and when our enemies are reduced to such weapons of warfare as these, we may well be content.

C.

THE DEBATE OF FRIDAY.

A SKETCH FROM THE REPORTERS' GALLERY.

Before going into the gallery I passed through Westminster Hall. There was the usual crowd assembled to see the "Claimant," but it was nothing like the crowd that was met in the hall where Pym and Burke and Fox looked down upon the hundreds who were assembled with the hope of hearing the debate on the Established Church. It was the largest crowd that has been witnessed this year, and, I think, the largest that I have ever seen there. Not one-fifth of those who had orders succeeded in the ballot; the rest soon afterwards dispersed—some home, some to linger in the outer lobby, where those who were armed with Speaker's orders had assembled in sufficient force to fill not only the Speaker's gallery, but half of the gallery below, in the middle of which, over the clock, sat the familiar figure of General Schenck, the American Ambassador, who, by the way, is one of the most constant attendants on the debates of the House.

The preliminary business of the evening was more quickly disposed of than usual, and it was only half-past four when Mr. Miall rose, not from the seat which he has occupied for the last two years, but on the seat behind, the third bench below the gangway, Mr. Bright having resumed his old place on the second seat. The House, at this time, was nearly full, indeed, for this time of evening, unusually full. On the Tory benches there was scarcely a seat unoccupied. The Liberal benches were almost in the same condition, while a dark mass of nearly undistinguishable strangers indicated the public interest taken in this question. I espied amongst them, some of the best known friends of the Liberation movement, but scarcely any clergymen. The absence of the clerical element in the lobbies had struck me before, but in the galleries, it was very obvious. Down below, however, under the galleries, the episcopal bench was fairly represented, and there, too, sat the London Treasurer and the Secretary of the Liberation Society—Mr. Ellington and Mr. Carvell Williams.

I can only say, of Mr. Miall's speech, that it was listened to with profound attention, but it was not well heard even in the reporters' gallery. More than one reporter complained of the great difficulty of following the speaker, while one went so far as to point out the precise spot where Mr. Miall should stand when he speaks—from whence, he said, he would be heard clearly and distinctly all over the House, but I had an imagination that Mr. Miall would not choose that spot, especially on such an occasion as that of Friday.

I have said that Mr. Miall was listened to with profound attention, but, after speaking for just an hour, the Tory squires manifested signs of impatience arising, perhaps, from their being unable to hear the hon. member distinctly, but it was evident, from the course of his argument and the proportion of his matter, that Mr. Miall had just then reached the close of his speech. He sat down after speaking an hour and five minutes—just about the time that Mr. Cobden generally occupied, and which, I believe, he used to say, should never, if possible, be exceeded.

It had been arranged that Mr. M'Laren, as a Scotch member, should second the motion, and he did so with great clearness, presenting a mass of well-arranged and valuable figures relating to the Established and the un-Established Churches of Scotland. Not ten minutes, however, had Mr. M'Laren been speaking, when the cry of "Divide" was raised, and then it became clear that the Tories and the so-called moderate Liberals intended to adhere to the nice little scheme which it was known they had concocted—viz., to cut short the debate at the dinner hour. Here, however, Mr. M'Laren, metaphorically speaking, put his foot down, and told hon. members that he intended to tell his story, and tell it he did right through, and until six o'clock.

It was no surprise, to those who were in the secret, to see Mr. Gladstone now—for it was all arranged beforehand—rise. Others, including Mr. T. Hughes, endeavoured to catch the Speaker's eye, but when the First Lord of the Treasury challenges that right hon. gentleman's attention, the right hon. gentleman is like Speaker Lenthall, and sees only one thing. Well, Mr. Gladstone spoke—spoke unusually well even for him. Some of us, who heard that speech, almost blushed with something like shame as we heard cheer after cheer proceeding from the Tory benches, and felt the cold silence of the men who have made the Liberal party what it is, and of the men who will lead it when Mr. Gladstone's staff will be broken. Most uneasy and, as it appeared to me, most ashamed, seemed Mr. Bright, who looked as though he would at last be compelled to speak. The Premier, as I have said, spoke with great effect, and once, when, lowering his voice to its most serious and solemn tone, he asked what would be the consequences of Mr. Miall's success, he seemed to me to achieve the greatest success of oratory as an art. But whether solemn or only serious, whether argumentative or only declamatory, dead silence reigned in the ranks especially addressed by the orator, while the Opposition cheered sentence after sentence as they customarily cheer only a Disraeli or a Hardy. Cæsar addressed his own troops, and all Pompey's legions shouted response.

It was about ten minutes to seven when Mr. Gladstone sat down, and once again rose the shouts of "Divide." Will the planned trick be successful? No; for Mr. Vernon Harcourt has caught the Speaker's eye, and every one can reasonably reckon on Mr. Harcourt keeping on his legs for half-an-hour. After him, it is pretty well known who is to speak. The names of Mr. Leatham, Mr. Reed, Mr. Richard, Mr. Carter, and Mr. Allen are freely mentioned, while it is on the cards that Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who has been taking notes for some time, will close the debate on the Opposition side. But what is this? "Divide! Divide!" and he who never before yielded to that cry, now yields, and sits down, after speaking for scarcely five minutes. Who is to follow? The Speaker looks round, and not one rises. One of those who were to have spoken has been in the members' gallery taking notes, and cannot get down to the floor of the House in time. Another has left for dinner, another has just been seen in the ladies' gallery, and so on. The one or two who were left were taken by surprise, and before they had recovered their self-possession, the Speaker had put the question, and it was too late.

The subject is freely talked over while the division-bell is ringing. Nobody is blamed. It was a cabal—a fiasco—which could not have been provided against. Who could have thought that "Historicus" would have spoken for only five minutes? You would as soon think of his writing a note of only five lines to the *Times*. But there it is. The majority are in sufficient numbers to crush the minority, and the division seems to be overwhelming. Yes, the troops led by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli—by Mr. Glyn and Colonel Taylor, have won the battle, and a great shout they give when the numbers are declared. We learn, in the lobby, a little more as to the value of those numbers, which will no doubt appear in another column of this paper, and we are, therefore, pretty content. Nevertheless, the accident that occurred was an unfortunate one, and will scarcely be repeated. "The best thing ever done by this House," declared a Tory member, and so the bishops seemed to think, as I saw them make their way through the lobbies with the evident feeling that the Church was saved for their time. I thought of the histories of Reform, of Free Trade, and of other and greater questions, and I reflected that, possibly, this was a sign that the end was nearer than any of us can think.

"An Independent Welsh Member" thus writes to the *South Wales Daily News*:—"It was hoped and intended by Mr. Miall's friends to have had a thorough and earnest debate. All the arrangements had been made, and the parts allotted to different speakers with that view. But when the House assembled it became known that the Opposition were determined, if they could, to stifle discussion by clamouring for a division before dinner. Unfortunately Mr. Gladstone, whether intentionally or not we do not pretend to say, played into their hands by getting up immediately after the seconder of the motion had finished, and making his reply. Generally, when the Prime Minister does this it has the effect, and is probably intended, to have the effect of forestalling debate. And it does this in several ways. It declares at once, and in the most peremptory fashion, the course which the Government intends to take on the question before the House, and thereby decides its fate out of hand. It places the supporters of the motion in the difficulty of finding a man ready and willing to answer on the spur of the moment the ablest orator in Parliament. There are few who have the courage—or what would be perhaps, generally considered the presumption—to measure themselves, without an instant's time for preparation, against such a consummate master of debate as Mr. Gladstone; and fewer still who could triumph over the difficulties of such a position as to secure the attention of the House. And finally, there is this crowning disadvantage—that, generally speaking, when the Prime Minister pursues the course we have described, the progress of discussion is so timed that his speech comes to a close just at the critical dinner-hour, when, even under ordinary circumstances, it is very hard work to address the House, and it becomes impossible to do so when a large body of members are determined to hear no more. This was the case on Friday: for when Mr. Vernon Harcourt started up after Mr. Gladstone, though he is as cool and self-confident a gentleman as any in the House, and had prepared himself for an hour's speech, and though that speech was against the motion, and therefore entirely to the taste of the recalcitrant majority, he saw that they were in no mood to listen, and had to sit down, after contending with the impatience of the House for about ten minutes. If anyone else had then attempted to speak, especially in favour of the motion, he would have been met with a continuous howl, as from famished wolves.

"Whether it is quite fair for the Prime Minister to act thus towards a large section of his own most earnest supporters, and adopt tactics the tendency of which is to deliver them into the hands of their enemies, may be, and probably will be, made a matter of question by the great body of Nonconformists in the country. It was very noticeable that the cheers with which Mr. Gladstone was greeted in the course of his speech, and which were tumultuous and long-continued at its close, came almost entirely from the ranks of the Opposition. We cannot but fear that what took place on Friday evening will do more than anything which has yet occurred to weaken the allegiance of the Nonconformists to the head of the Government."

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